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Scargill says fight goes back to coalfields but NCB in no mood for compromise over pay and amnesty

## Pit strike ends in defiance and tears

### Delegates vote 98-91 for return to work

By Keith Harper,  
Labour Editor

One of the most significant chapters in Britain's trade union history was closed last night when the miners reluctantly agreed to call off their strike in a mood of bitterness and tears, almost a year after it had begun.

A delegate conference of the National Union of Mineworkers (N.U.M.) at its headquarters in London decided by 98 votes to 91 to abandon the strike without agreement with the National Coal Board and call for an organised return to work tomorrow.

**HOW THEY VOTED**

Area	Votes	Area	Votes
Cokefield	58	York	3
Cumbria	17	Midlands	13
Derbyshire	11	Scotland	12
Durham	12	Group 2	4
N. West	8	(Scottish)	
Northumbria	6	Craftsmen	
N. Wales	2		
S. Wales	22		
Group 1	9		
(Durham)			
Mechanics			
Power Gp	5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>Against</b>	<b>91</b>

The Nottinghamshire delegation did not attend, although Nottinghamshire members of the executive did so. The Nottinghamshire area had 32 votes, Leicestershire did not use its three votes nor did South Derbyshire with four votes.

Its 16-month overtime ban in response to the board's 5.2 per cent pay offer will be maintained, and it is refusing to participate in the new revised colliery review procedure which has been agreed between the NCB and Nacods, the pit supervisors' union.

The board responded with a tough approach of no compromise from its chief spokesman, Mr Michael Eaton. Until the miners call off their overtime ban, the board will not assume that normality has returned to the pits, and no pay increase will be forthcoming.

The NCB is not interested in approaching Mr Scargill and his two national officers — Mr Peter Heathfield, the general secretary, and Mr Mick McGahey, the vice-president — in a conciliatory gesture.

"I think the initiative lies with them, even though it may

not be the most popular thing to say," Mr Eaton said.

After bowing to the growing divisions within the union over the conduct of the dispute, Mr Scargill condemned vast sections of the Labour movement and his hosts at Congress House for not rising to the occasion when it mattered by supporting the miners.

The NUM leader was just as forthright about his personal future, although his conduct of the dispute, while supported with much zeal by many miners, has been criticised both within the NUM and in the labour movement generally.

Mr Scargill said he regarded the 70.3 per cent figure which returned him as president as "infinitely more secure" than the figure polled by Mrs Thatcher at the last election.

The decision to abandon the strike by 98 votes to 91 came after an angry and passionate three-hour debate, in which a South Wales motion calling for an organised return to work tomorrow just held away over one from Yorkshire.

This declared that the strike should go on until the future of the five named pits, Bulcliffe Wood, Polmaise, Snowdown, Herrington, and Cortonwood, was safeguarded, and that all those miners dismissed should receive an amnesty.

The executive was divided when it met early yesterday to consider reports from all the coalfields that it could not make a recommendation to delegates.

That did not please the conference, and Mr Scargill and his colleagues were sent back to discuss the situation again.

When delegates returned after a 30-minute adjournment, they were told that the executive had tied 11-11, and that therefore the strike would continue. For the first time for many months the unanimity displayed by the executive was broken.

On neither occasion did Mr Scargill use his casting vote at the executive meeting to break the deadlock.

Eight resolutions were discussed during the main debate, ranging from the Kent's hard-line view that the strike should continue to the feeling expressed strongly in areas like South Wales that the strike should be called off, and that individual areas should negotiate amnesties for all miners dismissed during the dispute for criminal offences.

Towards the end of the conference the debate began to coalesce around whether the strike should be called off before any amnesty was agreed.

Along the way delegates overwhelmingly defeated the Kent proposition that the strike should go on by 170 votes to 18, and a motion from Scotland proposing that a return to work would only be achieved after an amnesty had been negotiated.

When it came, Yorkshire's harder motion was supported by Kent, Scotland, the Midlands and the Scottish craftsmen.

As delegates dispersed in the pouring rain outside TUC headquarters, where several hundred demonstrators waited

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Final confrontation: Mr Scargill and Mr McGahey face the throng outside Congress House after giving news of the vote. Picture by David Rose.

### Despair of the sacked miners

By Patrick Wintour,  
Labour Staff

MINERS waiting outside Congress House reacted with raw and unrestrained emotion when their president and guide, Arthur Scargill, confirmed the news that their strike had just been ended.

Voices from Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire screamed at their leader, "Arthur, you've been betrayed," "Give us leadership," "We cannot go back."

Mr Scargill, surrounded by the world's press and his fellow leaders, Mr Peter Heathfield and Mr Mick McGahey, looked at sudden supporters over the crash barrier and through the police line and said: "I want to say this. We have been involved in the greatest industrial struggle ever seen. I want to say to each and every one of you, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart."

He then retreated back into Congress House. As he did so, one of the Scottish miners, at breaking point, screamed out at the walls of Congress House and the delegates remaining inside:

"We've given you our hearts, we've given you everything, and then you sell us out. Dave Jones and Joe Green died on the picket line for this and you turn round and slap us in the face with a great big fish."

"We'll never go back to work," Jones roared and feathered with the rest of the scabby bastards."

All breath and emotion expended, the miner collapsed in tears to be comforted by his colleagues.

John Swain, a Polmaise miner, was equally stunned: "I've been sacked for pushing a police officer. I was sacked in September as soon as I was arrested. The judge has just given me a reprimand, but I'm still sacked. And what have I done? I fought for my job."

"Why should we go back? We've been out for 12 months and we've got nothing. What sort of a decision is this?"

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### Thatcher calls for reconciliation

By James Naughtie,  
Political Correspondent

The Prime Minister said last night that the miners' return to work was an overwhelming relief for the Government and the country.

Mrs Thatcher committed herself to reconciliation, but made clear that she suggested the National Coal Board's refusal of a blanket amnesty for strikers dismissed during the dispute.

Mrs Thatcher said at Downing Street that the end of the strike was a victory for those miners who had worked throughout the dispute, and for other workers who had refused to take sympathetic action. "It was a victory for common sense and for those who stayed at work," she said on her return from weekend at Chequers.

Her message was that the Government wanted peace in the pits, but she did not flinch from expressing her conviction in the Government's right to resist impossible demands and to stand firm against the

National Union of Mineworkers.

Earlier, the Energy Secretary, Mr Peter Walker, said: "We have wasted a year, and now we have got to make up for it. He was delighted at the return to work, and urged miners to avoid disruptive actions."

AS THE miners' strike ends tomorrow the Guardian will publish a four-page illustrated supplement looking back on the longest, costliest, and most divisive post-war strike. Keith Harper and Patrick Wintour will examine the origins and turning points of the dispute, the personalities and styles of the main protagonists, and the implications of the National Union of Mineworkers' defeat for organised labour, the Government and the Opposition.

Shame of men who returned. Sacked miners' plight, page 2; 53bn bill, family that lived on pride, Year of taking liberties, page 17; Leader comment, page 12; Working miners remain organised force, back page.

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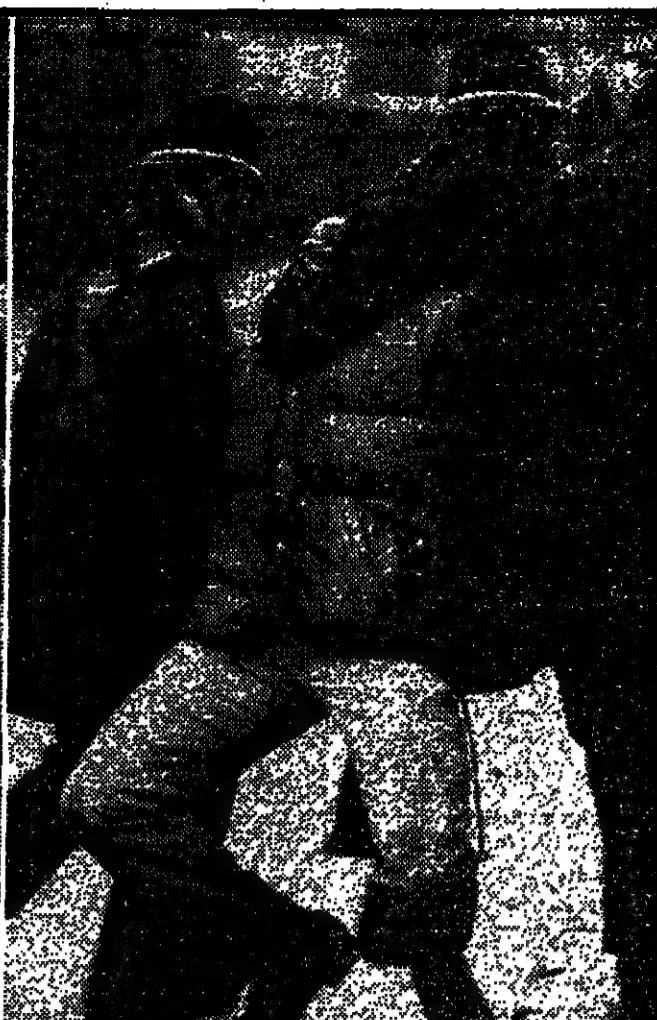
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# Strike leaves scars that must heal or fester



## Shame of men who returned to work

By David Hearst

THE coal board talked of them as heroes, but for one miner who broke the strike in Yorkshire last week and passed the picket line he had manned for 13 months said he felt like a criminal who had been caught.

No one called Paul Lethbridge a scab, as he went into Kellingley colliery, where the strike had been solid almost to a man until the final stages. At the strike centre, men drew a clear line between those who went back before Christmas under heavy police escort, and the men like Paul Lethbridge, who reached the end of his tether.

Mr Lethbridge owed his bank £2,656 in interest alone on the improvement loan for his house, which could have been repossessed.

"I just could not see an end to the strike. It could have gone on for another 12 months." He went back with tears in his eyes. "I know that 90 per cent of the men who went back with me, feel like I do."

It does not augur well for the NCB's show pit, which once broke all production records by digging over two million tons of saleable coal a year.

Those who have already returned pick their words carefully when they describe the atmosphere down the pit, mindful of the words of the manager, Mr Percy Simpson, that guerrilla action will not be tolerated.

All they say is that the pit will never again break the records. Without refusing orders, miners say they will not give their all to the under-managers who have been responsible for hastening the collapse of the strike by scrounging around for soft targets for their financial indiscretions to return to work.

Even at Kellingley, whose coal reserves and geological conditions would be the envy of miners in Durham and South Wales, the future of the pit's 2,098 members of the National Union of Mineworkers and its 355 depots is by no means certain. Compared to the newest pits in the Selby colliery, Kellingley's manning levels look uneconomic.

At Selby one man can move 40 powered tunnel supports by remote control, and manning levels on a retreat face have been cut from 17 to seven.

In the last year of production, Selby's Sillingfleet pit produced more coal with 649 men than Kellingley did with more than 2,200. Selby will soon produce more coal than all the other collieries combined.

Colin McDonald, a hydraulics engineer, stayed out to the last. He said last week: "I want to salvage the union. I am proud to be a member of the NUM and I want to go back to work still proud of my union."

"But if we have a situation where 80 per cent of the men are back at work and 20 per cent are still out on strike, then the union is split in two."

Nowhere is that more obvious than on the streets of Kellingley, where working miners cross the road rather than walk past striking colleagues. No stones are thrown through working miners' front windows in North Yorkshire—a traditionally moderate area—but there is silence.

The local radio station appealed in vain for working miners to give their views in a debate last week. Only one working miner came on and he wished to remain anonymous.

David Millar, branch secretary at Kellingley said they would have to start from scratch in rebuilding the union. Personally against a return, he recognised the need to regroup for the battles that would inevitably come in the horizon. "They will be wanting to privatise us next."

But there was an air of desperation in the voices of his men as the strike was collapsing. "There has got to be a union once we are back at pit. There has got to be."

SCENES FROM THE STRIKE: Working Nottinghamshire miners (left) demanding a ballot outside the county's NUM headquarters at Mansfield, where striking pitmen demonstrated their hopes for victory (centre) and the familiar sight of a picket being arrested.

## Plight of sacked miners the key to harmony

By Jean Stead

THE decision of the national delegate conference in London yesterday left more than 160 sacked miners in Scotland with apparently no future in the coalfield.

About a quarter of all miners dismissed are Scottish though the workforce north of the border at 12,400 is comparatively small. In the Lethbridge area alone, containing Bliton Glen pit—scene of some of the worst clashes between police and pickets—100 miners have been sacked. A coalfield went to London yesterday to picket the delegate conference.

"We did not want the delegates to forget their existence," said Mr Jack Currie, a Bliton Glen delegate. "Feeling against going back to work without the men

who have been sacked is running very high."

The board last night offered no hope of an amnesty even for those convicted of minor offences. Dismissals have usually been on the grounds of "gross industrial misconduct" and the tough Scottish area director, Mr Albert Wheeler, appears to be unrelenting.

"We consider all the men dismissed in Scotland to have committed serious offences and there can be no amnesty," a Scottish NCB spokesman said.

The meeting of NUM area delegates in Edinburgh today is likely to be stormy over the question of whether there should be a return to work tomorrow without an amnesty.

At Polkna, the first pit to come out on strike in the

country, miners have said they will not return even if there is an amnesty. The pit faces closure and 10 men have been sacked.

Mr David Hamilton, aged 34, the chairman of the Lethbridge strike committee, spent 10 weeks on remand in custody before being acquitted of an offence during a fight in the miners' club. He was later sacked by the National Coal Board in Scotland from his job at Monktonhall.

Jimmy Findlayson, aged 42, a power face worker at that colliery with 27 years down the pit has also been sacked and did not appear yesterday to grasp the fact that the strike might end without him being reinstated. He said: "Friends have told me they wouldn't go back till I am reinstated and they have done so."

"I am not a violent person but I can't see me going back to work with people like that. Each one who went back has been another nail in the coffin of the ones who were sacked."

"It is hard to imagine what it will be like down the pit when it is over, because face workers rely on being a team and getting on with their mates."

"The Government does not realise what damage they have done to the mining communities. Honestly, I don't think it will ever be the same again. I have always thought miners were the salt of the earth but I never thought I would see them going back and stabbing the pit delegate in the back."

He did not go on strike in 1972 and 1974. That was

just for money. It was different this time. This was for survival," he said.

"I was arrested at Longannet power station. We were determined to try to speak to drivers of the lorries. The inspector said 'Right, list 20 of them' and I was handcuffed and put in the back of a van, my photo taken and fingerprinted."

"That time, I had an unproven verdict. But on the picket line in June I went to help a fellow unionist being dragged away by the back of his head and seemed to be suffocating. It was like a rugby scrum."

"I tried to pull him out, a policeman pulled me away and I was charged with breach of the peace. I got three charges in the sheriff's court and the law advised

me to plead guilty to two charges, one of which was breaking my bail but I still ended up with a total of £350 in fines."

"Straightaway I got my P45 from the coal board and then a document saying I would be entitled to £18 a week at 65 and a lump sum of £2,500. It stated I had committed gross industrial misconduct."

"I live in a NCB house and owe them over £500 rent. After I was sacked they came round asking how I was going to pay it off now I was no longer employed."

Many of the sacked miners live in tied board houses and are planning to pay double rents to reduce their arrears when the strike was over. Now the tenure of their homes as well as their jobs is in doubt.

## Pledge to fight on inside the pits

By Paul Heyland

THERE were few celebrations in the South Wales valleys last night as the communities with the most solid support for the strike prepared to continue their fight from inside the pits, they claim are still threatened.

News bulletins announcing the end of the strike brought tears of relief in many households but little joy at the prospect of returning without a tangible victory.

The writing had been on the wall since last week when Mr Terry Thomas, the National Union of Mineworkers area vice-president, warned: "We are not prepared to allow other areas to fight to the last drop of the South Wales miners' blood."

An angry delegate conference at Forthwell in mid-Glamorgan last Friday reluctantly decided to recommend an organised return to preserve the union. The South Wales men had 48 hours to adjust to the idea that the months of picketing and hardship were almost over.

Expressions of relief yesterday quickly gave way to deep concern that the coal board should grant an amnesty for the miners sacked during the dispute.

Mr Howard Davies, aged 42, an underground worker for more than 20 years said: "Unless the board declare an amnesty, I can see everlasting bitterness in the pits."

His colliery at Blaenau in West Glamorgan—like many others in the coalfield—is regarded as uneconomic by the board, but he insists: "We could have a long secure future if the board carry out the necessary investment."

There is some bitterness about the 1,500 men who had crossed picket lines in South Wales—most of them in the past week—but the concern yesterday was about the reinstatement issue.

"The biggest betrayal was that of the NUM miners who let us down from the beginning," said Mr Davies. "The men want to go back to work but they won't want to go back in the wrong circumstances. We must have an amnesty."

The South Wales NUM has called for immediate negotiations with the board to secure the reinstatement of the region's 42 sacked men. They include four lodge officials and an area delegate conference next Saturday will consider management's response.

## Labour to invite Sinn Fein

By Martin Linton

Sinn Fein will be invited to send representatives to the next year after it voted once next year after it voted narrowly yesterday to hold discussions with "the majority of Republican opinion" in Northern Ireland.

The motion, which was carried on a card vote by 315,500 to 292,000, did not specify which parties should be invited, but it was made clear from the platform that it would be taken to mean all shades of Republican opinion, including Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, as well as the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Mr Ken Livingstone, leader of the Greater London Council, did not speak on the motion but he was the prime mover in persuading the London party executive to recommend acceptance of the motion.

He won the vote on the executive by 16 to 12, despite the opposition to talks with Sinn Fein which stretches from the right wing to Militant and includes a number of prominent leftwingers, who wanted the invitations limited to the SDLP, the small Workers' Party and the even smaller Northern Ireland Labour Party, who all opposed IRA violence.

The resolution is sufficiently ambiguous to allow its opponents to argue that it does not give a mandate for the London party to invite Sinn Fein.

It refers to representatives from "the majority of Republican opinion" and it is the SDLP, not Sinn Fein, that has always won a majority of Republican votes.

The London executive also recommended delegates to support a motion calling for "immediate and unconditional British withdrawal from Northern Ireland, and support for 'Troops Out' campaigns, but this was narrowly defeated by 305,000 to 294,000.

## OBITUARY

### Former MP

Commander Alfred Williams, aged 87, who was Conservative MP for North Cornwall from 1924 to 1929, has died at a nursing home in Devon. He served in two world wars. He was a farmer and horticulturalist and a member of the daftodil committee of the Royal Horticultural Society.

## MPs pass reselection challenge

By James Naughtie, Political Correspondent

Thirty-three Labour MPs have been endorsed by their constituency parties by last night, at the end of the first month of reselection under the party's rules.

Mr Don Compton, of Mansfield, Mr Ted Rowlands, Merthyr Tydfil and Rhymney, Mr Douglas Henderson, chairman of the party in Scotland, failed at the weekend to win the nomination following the announcement by Mr Harry Gourey that he is stepping down.

Mr Henderson, who was favourite for the seat, was beaten by Dr Lewis Moonie, a Life regional councillor.

One of the areas being watched closely by party officials is the North-east, where several close contests are in prospect.

Already Militant Tendency supporters have suffered a notable defeat at the hands of Miss Joyce Quin in Gateshead East, and the main challenge to the traditionally rightwing establishment is likely to come instead from leftwingers who have no Militant links.

One of these is Mr Alan Meale, research assistant to Mr Michael Meacher, the shadow social services secretary, who is seeking to replace Mr Ernie Armstrong, the retiring member in North-west Durham.

Mr Meale failed last month to win the nomination in Darlington, losing to Mr Ossie O'Brien, who won through with strong support largely attributed to his period of three months as the town's MP after the 1983 by-election.

The proposals, according to the bulletin, are likely to emerge from a review of youth benefits by Lord Young's enterprise unit.

Wages Councils, which fix minimum pay rates in 28 industries covering nearly three million workers, have long been opposed by small business and free market pressure groups.

The Cabinet rejected the young people's

## Bishop warns of anarchy danger as four IRA victims are buried

From Paul Johnson, in Belfast

Four more victims of the latest spate of IRA violence were buried in Northern Ireland yesterday.

At a service for Sergeant John Dowd, aged 31, one of the nine Royal Ulster Constabulary members killed in the mortar attack on Newry police station last Thursday, mourners were told that the people of Northern Ireland would have to show a new determination to live moral and peaceful lives.

The Bishop of Down and Dromore, the Right Reverend Robin Eames, said that the alternative was anarchy.

Speaking in Warrington, County Armagh, at the service for Sergeant Dowd, a married man and a member of the force's drug squad, the bishop said that the RUC was the community's defence and principal bulwark against terrorism.

The funeral also took place yesterday in Killeel, County Down, of the most senior ranking of the Newry victims.

Chief Inspector Alex Donaldson, aged 41, and in Six Mile Cross, County Tyrone, a service was held for Constable Ivy Kelly, aged 29, a married woman.

Private Trevor Harkness, aged 36, a father of five, the Ulster Defence Regiment soldier killed on Thursday night when an IRA booby trap bomb exploded when he was on patrol, was buried yesterday in Cookstown, County Tyrone.



Mrs Jennifer Dowd, herself a policewoman, at the funeral yesterday, of her husband John. With her is her father

On Saturday three other victims of the Newry mortar attack were buried. The funeral in Hillsborough, County Down, of Reserve Constable Geoffrey Campbell, aged 24, who had been in the force for only a month, was attended by the Reverend Ian Paisley.

The leader of the Democratic Unionist Party told mourners that the Government had failed in its duty to defend the security forces.

The funeral of Constable

Rosemary McGookin, aged 27, was held in Portlough, County Armagh, and Constable David Topping, aged 22, was buried in Lurgan, County Armagh.

The funerals of the three other victims, Reserve Constable Sean McHenry, aged 19, single, of Newtownards, County Down, Reserve Constable Dennis Price, aged 22, single, of Glengormy, County Antrim, and Reserve Constable Paul McFerran, aged 33, single, of Belfast, will be held today.

## Wage protection warning

By David Rose

Proposals to end wages council and industrial tribunal protection for young people—expected shortly from Lord Young, the minister responsible for job creation—have already been rejected by the Government several times, according to a bulletin from the charity Youthaid to be published today.

The bulletin, The Government's Plans for Youth, was written by Mr Ian Williams, a civil servant sacked in 1983 for leaking confidential advice on employment legislation to the Guardian.

The proposals, according to the bulletin, are likely to emerge from a review of youth benefits by Lord Young's enterprise unit.

Wages Councils, which fix minimum pay rates in 28 industries covering nearly three million workers, have long been opposed by small business and free market pressure groups.

The Youthaid bulletin claims the public debate has been mirrored by discussion in Whitehall, with the Employment Department resisting pressure from the Treasury various "think tanks" and the Trade Department.

In late 1979, the bulletin says, the Employment Department completed a detailed study of wages councils, rejecting claims that they were inflationary or a burden on small businesses.

Yet the now-disbanded Central Policy Review Staff's report on youth unemployment suggested that young people should be deprived of the council's protection.

The bulletin says the Employment Department, presided over by Mr Jim Prior, the Employment Secretary, is arguing against the report's conclusion before it had been completed.

The CPRS report's suggestion, by February 1982, Mr Patrick Jenkin, then Industry Secretary, had discussed the proposal with Mr Prior's successor, Mr Norman Tebbit. The idea was again rejected because of a convention to which Britain was a signatory.

The convention expires this year. The bulletin says Lord Young's arrival "tipped the balance" against the Employment Department.

The bulletin says the Treasury continues to press for change, arguing that young workers had not attained "full economic value" by 23.

Mr Paul Lewis, Youthaid's director, said last night that "the Government's new package of job measures is nothing more than old discredited ideas in new clothing. Nine-teen eighty-five for International Year of Youth, looks like being a bad year for the young people."

## Penalties of dispute justice

THERE have been 9,750 arrests, 10,335 charges relating to the pits strike and 7,574 people charged, according to the Home Office; 5,528 cases have been dealt with, leading to 4,112 convictions and 1,616 acquittals.

The following table shows the number and nature of charges faced by miners by the end of February.

Offence	Number
Section 5 of the Public Order Act (conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace)	4,069
Obstruction of a police constable	1,682
Obstruction of the highway	640
Criminal damage	1,015
Criminal damage with intent to endanger life	4
Arson	15
Assaulting a police constable	359
Actual bodily harm	424
Grievous bodily harm	39
Theft	349
Resisting arrest	19
Offensive weapon	49
Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1986	275
Burglary	31
Handling stolen property	1
Drug offence	1
Breach of the peace	207
Breach of bail conditions	32
Attempt (various offences)	18
Drunkness	62
Unlawful assembly	508
Railway offences	20
Alfray	21
Riot	137
Incitement	1
Reckless driving	16
Threat/conspiracy to cause damage	13
Explosive offence	3
Threats to kill	5
Unlawful imprisonment	2
Other offences	294
Murder	3
Total	10,335

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**Larger counties to continue to fight by deficit budgeting**

## London Labour divided over no-rate option

By John Carvel, Local Government Correspondent

A bitter rift opened up among leading members of the London Labour left yesterday as to how councillors should vote in the key budget meeting which has been called for next Thursday in synchronised defiance of Mr Patrick Jenkin's rate-capping policy.

The long-term alliance between Mr Ken Livingstone, the leader of the Greater London Council, and Mr Ted Knight, leader of Lambeth council, seemed to have passed breaking point after two days of debate and acrimony at the London Labour Party annual conference.

The contrasting positions of Mr Livingstone and his deputy leader, Mr John McDonnell, also put their future working relationship under severe strain.

Sixteen Labour rate-capped councils and several others under threat of severe grant penalties had decided to hold budget meetings on Thursday at which they were to refuse to comply with the Government's legally-backed demands for cuts in jobs and services.

It is expected now that Shetfield, Leicester, Thamesdown, Manchester, Liverpool and the London boroughs of Camden, Greenwich, Hackney, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham, Southwark and Haringey will pass motions that they consider it is impossible for them to make a rate.

These lower-tier authorities will have another chance to fix a rate before the district auditor or commercial ratepayer can step in to bring an action in the courts.

But there is a legal obligation on the upper tier county authorities to make a rate by March 10. If councillors on these authorities fail to do so, they can be surcharged, disqualified from public office and possibly bankrupted.

Faced with this threat, Merseyside and South Yorkshire councils are proposing to fix a legal rate and embark on a programme of covert deficit budgeting.

They will make unspecified cuts in their budgets, but hope to avoid making any cuts in services this year. Labour councillors on these authorities argue that this strategy is essential if they are to continue to pay the subsidies on which their cheap fares policies rely.

The district council of Basildon is expected to be the only lower-tier authority to join these two counties in budgeting for a deficit on Thursday.

This puts all the Labour left political pressure on the GLC and the Inner London Education Authority.

Late on Friday, GLC officers provided the council's leadership with fresh information about how its accounts could be manipulated to live within the Government's rate-capping income limit without making any cuts in the coming financial year.

Their report, known as FGP 1000, says that to be certain of achieving this the council would have immediately to halt further growth.

It also points out, however, that problems connected with the planned abolition of the GLC make it highly unlikely that all the planned spending of £252 million can be achieved.

Until last week, it had been assumed that there was no question of the GLC voting illegally to refuse to fix a rate. It was expected that the GLC Tory group would join with those Labour councillors who objected on principle to law-breaking to form a majority for a legal rate.

However, the GLC Tories have reportedly received counsel's advice that they may safely abstain on the critical vote if they have previously been outvoted by Labour on an alternative legal rate. Then the GLC might vote to go illegal by a simple majority within the Labour group.

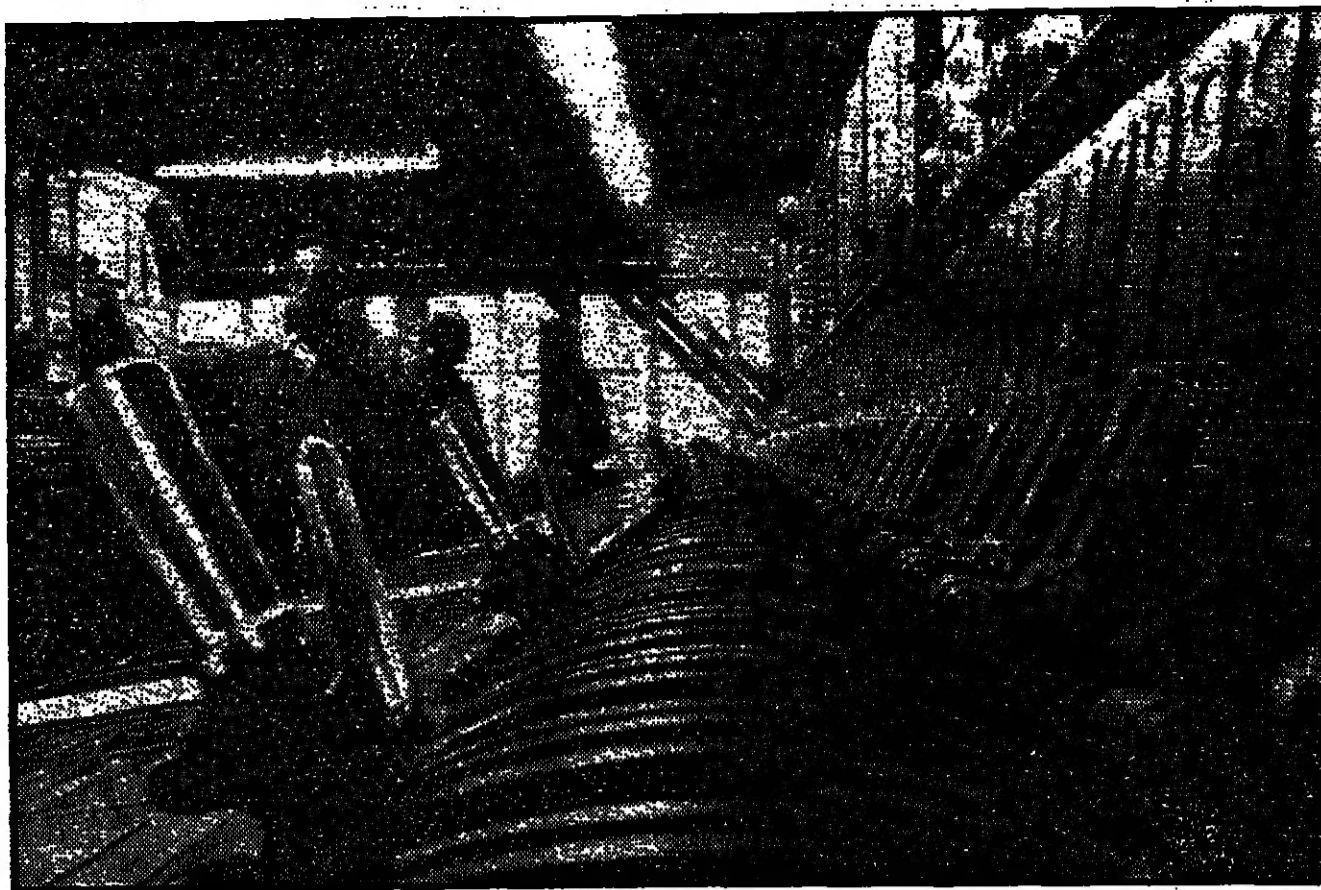
The position on ILEA is too close to call. On Friday there were an estimated 22 ILEA councillors in support of the no-rate option, 23 against it, with two on holiday and two undecided.

When the London Labour Party met to decide how councillors should behave on Thursday, Mr Livingstone spoke for the illegal no-rate option for the GLC, but added that the boroughs should firm up their resolutions to ensure that they went illegal at the same time.

Mr Livingstone's point was that it was unreasonable for Labour councillors on the GLC and ILEA to put themselves outside the law, urged on by others whose relatively harmless resolutions did not expose themselves to similar risk.

Mr Knight told the conference: "Quite frankly, it is a bit late for some comrades to realise that there are problems." GLC Labour members should carry out Labour Party policy, as should borough councillors, he said.

The Lambeth district auditor had sent letters which councillors will receive today warning them of his attitude to failure to set a rate. Mr Knight disagreed with Mr Livingstone's plan to fight by-elections if councillors were disqualified. Instead, "London must come to a halt until those comrades are reinstated."



## Signalling the electronic way ahead

CLAPHAM Junction signaller (above) 80 years old, but still controlling the busiest railway junction in the world, is to be demolished as part of the wholesale resignalling of the line, writes Geoff Andrews.

In three years its task of controlling the 2,000 trains a day that use the 12 lines into Waterloo and Victoria

will be taken over by a new electronic signal box at Wimbledon, and the crumbling collection of wooden buildings that bridge the tracks will be demolished and the brass and wood power frame signalling system installed in 1986 sold to collectors.

Demolition almost came 20 years ago, when the entire structure suddenly

sagged under the weight of steel sheeting which had been erected during the war to protect the signal box from shrapnel during air raids. For several days the entire network of services was thrown into confusion, but operations were restored with the removal of the old armour.

Picture by Martin Argles

## Handling costs may exceed cold spell benefits

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

Administrative costs could outweigh the benefits paid to help pensioners and the poor meet high fuel bills caused by recent cold weather, according to official figures for the Midlands.

Figures released to Mr Jeff Rooker, Labour MP for Perry Barr, show that the average payment to claimants in Walsall and Handsworth, Birmingham, has been £2.07 each.

This figure was confirmed by the Department of Health and Social Security as typical for the whole of the Midlands.

Mr Bill Eagles, an information officer with Help the Aged said: "We are in a position where hardly anybody can get help and even when they can the money is derisory. We believe there are cases of people receiving 50p or 60p."

The highest exceptional severe weather payments look like being paid to people living in East Anglia — where a claimant with a £100 bill might receive £10 — and in London and the Home Counties.

The department has told MPs that it is "too expensive" to collect the figures to give an analysis of the average claims and the number of people helped.

But figures are to be collected for Mr Alan Parsons, the department's chief adjudication

officer, when he reviews the payments. Officially the cost of processing claims, postage and paying post offices to cash the benefits could exceed the total in benefits.

One reason for low payments is that quarterly bills only qualify for help if average temperatures remain low.

This meant that some bitter weather in February was "cancelled out" by exceptionally mild weather before Christmas.

People claiming help for weekly purchases of coal or paraffin and those on slot meters can also be disqualified.

A case brought in Nottingham has confirmed that the regulations do not allow payments to people if they have already paid the bill.

In those cases they have to show that they will have to go without something else which qualifies for another single payment under DHSS regulations. Those who go without food to pay the bill cannot claim help.

Mr Gordon Brown, Labour MP for Dunfermline east, said Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, has refused to agree a date for a meeting to discuss the unfairness of the payments and the failure to help people in Scotland.

Last year, the ministry decided not to appeal if any claimant won a case on humanitarian grounds.

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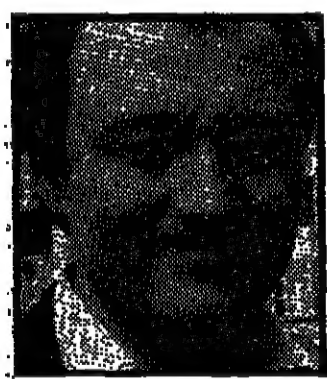
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Mr Ken Livingstone (left) and Mr Ted Knight—weekend of acrimony



## Yard seeks extradition of banker

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

MR Rajendra Sethi, who is alleged to have defrauded the London branches of three nationalised Indian banks of at least £200 million, was undergoing intensive questioning in a New Delhi prison over the weekend.

He was arrested in a five-star New Delhi hotel early on Saturday morning, and was remanded in custody for six days by a magistrate. Scotland Yard is reported to have sought his extradition to face fraud charges in England.

Mr Sethi, a London-based Indian businessman in his thirties, returned to India a month ago. He is alleged to have borrowed huge sums from the three banks — the Punjab National, Central Bank and Union Bank — against suspect deals in sugar and other commodities with the Nigerian Government.

Delhi court on Saturday that ing counsel, told the New Delhi court on Saturday that Mr Sethi had conspired with his own staff and those of the banks to obtain the loans with "manipulated documents."

Mr Sethi appeared in court here sporting a beard, white open-necked shirt and blue jeans. He claimed that the loans were being repaid. This was disputed by the prosecution.

## Inquiry into Murrell murder

By Stephen Cook

West Mercia police will announce this afternoon the name of a senior officer from another force who is to review their handling of the case of the murder of Miss Hilda Murrell.

Miss Murrell, aged 79, was found dead in a wood near Shrewsbury a year ago after her house had been burgled. She was at the time of her death preparing a paper opposing the building of a nuclear power station at Sizewell, Suffolk.

The police announcement will be made on the same day as the screening of a World in Action programme which is expected to produce new details on the case, and suggest that the police were premature in their conclusion that Miss Murrell was killed by an opportunist burglar looking for money.

Her nephew, Mr Rob Green, a senior naval officer at fleet headquarters at the time of the Falklands war in 1982, has said that she could have been killed by someone looking for the evidence on nuclear waste which she was due to present to the Sizewell inquiry.

MPs and others have suggested that the security services were involved.

The decision to review the case follows an acrimonious interview last week between the television team and Mr Bernard Drew, an assistant chief constable in West Mercia police. It was seen in some quarters as a move to pre-empt any criticism in the programme.

سكنا من الاجل



# Commons row due on hedge grant bill

## In the vanguard of rebellion

By Michael Morris  
ENVIRONMENTAL groups expect a fight in the Commons this week over a move to give the Government extra responsibilities for conservation on farms.

Powers to provide grant aid for farmers to plant and maintain hedges and small woodlands would be strengthened under a private member's bill to make six amendments to the Wildlife and Countryside Act.

But the groups feel the hedge grant amendment will face the most government opposition on Wednesday when the bill, introduced by Dr David Clark, Labour environment spokesman, reaches the committee stage, where the Government has a majority.

Mr Charles Secrett, Friends of the Earth countryside campaigner, said his group was now lobbying MPs to support the amendment warning that 5,000 miles of hedgerow are being dug up every year.

He said: "One of the things we have been campaigning on for more than two years is how little assistance farmers get from the Ministry of Agriculture in advice or aid, to help them look after features like hedges or small woodlands."

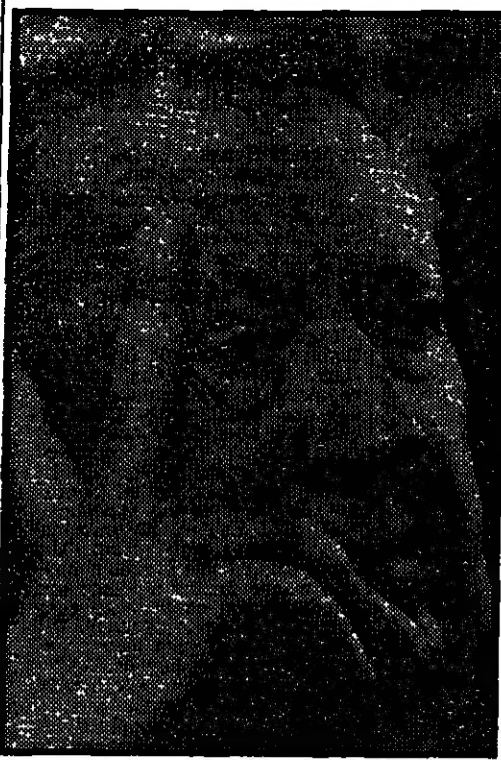
The amendment, which FoE and other groups helped to draft, gives the minister increased statutory duties to further conservation, and the Government would have to revise the basis of grants for planting hedges or maintaining coppices for timber production.

Mr Secrett said: "The woodlands provide some useful return for the farmer, but like the hedges they also act as a windbreak against erosion and conserve wildlife."

Recently, FoE launched a special effort to win over farmers in Hereford and Worcester, Shropshire, and Gloucestershire, which remain untouched by the effects of intensive agriculture met in East Angles.

A Herefordshire FoE group has alerted the Leominster District Council over the sale of a traditional farm in three lots to separate farmers, one of whom is claimed to have removed most of the hedges and cut down trees on the eastern half of the farm.

The National Farmers' Union said that it did not object in principle to the proposed amendment, but added that it was not sure what effect it might have in practice.



THE ANGRY BRIGADE: Edward Heath (left) and (above) Den Dover, Robert Hicks, Terry Dicks and Neil Hamilton.

## As the whips count the cost of a large Commons majority, David McKie provides a who's who to MPs answering the call of Tory dissidents

AN unusual event took place at the end of the Commons debate on the sinking of the General Belgrano two weeks ago. The former Conservative prime minister Edward Heath voted for the Government.

At the close of play in the Commons on Friday there had been 129 opportunities to vote for the Government since the new session opened in October. Mr Heath had availed himself of just six.

On the very first day he supported a motion authorising the printing of the Votes and Proceedings of the House, opposed by the Alliance for tactical reasons. On November 27, he voted against a Labour motion on the crisis in the shipbuilding industry. His next vote came on January 15, at the end of a debate on a Labour motion on unemployment.

He backed the Government but failed to vote for the Prime Minister's amendment endorsing her government's economic policies, put to the House 10 minutes later.

Mr Heath's fourth vote, the next week, was in support of additional payments to the European Economic Community. His fifth and sixth were in the two Belgrano divisions on February 18.

His absences can hardly be said to have threatened the Government's existence. With an overall majority of 162, the whips rarely call on their full back-bench forces for a division.

The exception occurred on January 31, when Labour put down what amounted almost to a motion of censure and MPs were hauled back from far-flung parts to bump up the majority.

In Mr Heath's case, however, a long standing overseas commitment prevented his return. This is thought to have been the first case in parliamentary history when an MP was unable to vote in the Commons because he was conducting the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra.

The size of the Government's majority has clearly meant problems, mostly by creating an atmosphere for far more rebellions. But it has also enabled the whips to call only lightly on some long-serving members, from the "dry" as well as from the "wets" end of the party.

And mercifully it has also brought to a halt the long-standing Commons tradition of dragging ailing and inebriated members to Westminster for crucial votes. One or two Conservative MPs have for health reasons hardly voted at all this session.

Among the 12 backbench MPs who have voted least often in this session, six could be classed in the "senior dissident" category. Sir Ian Gilmour has voted with the Government on only 16 occasions. Mr Francis Pym on 20, Mr James Prior, now much involved in industry, and Mr Julian Critchley on 21, and Mr Patrick Cormack on 22.

Many of the missed votes have been deeply trivial. But some have been absent on big occasions too. In the selection of 12 divisions on issues where Government prestige seemed especially at stake or where significant rebellions threatened—votes on the central thrust of economic policy, local government legislation, rates and water rates, restrictions on local government spending,

Stansted, and the Belgrano among them—shows Mr Heath voting on only one out of 12, the Belgrano, Sir Ian voting three times and Mr Prior and Mr Critchley four.

But others also absent on a high number of occasions by no means belong to the wet reaches of the party. Mr Nicholas Winterdon (Macclesfield) and his wife Anna (Congleton) missed nine out of these 12 votes. They are right-wingers out of sympathy with the Government on a wide range of issues.

But their record is also affected by a visit to South Africa from which the whips were unable to persuade them to make an early return.

It is by abstaining rather than in votes against the Government that surviving Tory wets tend to demonstrate their disillusion. That makes their records difficult to plot.

Deliberate abstentions are not logged in Hansard and an MP's absence from a key division is just as likely to reflect urgent commitments—sometimes parliamentary—elsewhere, or the whips' readiness to grant a night off, as any conscious decision to withhold support.

Mr Heath, for instance, missed two divisions on limits on local authority spending last Monday night. On January 30, 70 Conservatives voted against the Government on a debate on airports' policy, with special reference to the future of Stansted and Heathrow. This revolt was of such substantial proportions that the Government ducked out of the

vote and told its supporters to abstain.

The other best-supported revolts of the session have been:

November 21 — 14 Conservatives opposed the second reading of the Civil Aviation Bill, mainly because of concern about its implications for Stansted. Later, Tory rebels twice brought proceedings of the standing committee to a halt by refusing to vote for a timetable.

December 12 — 18 MPs supported a move to give London a directly elected authority when the GLC goes. January 15 — 14 opposed a Government order affecting certain kinds of sweets thought to have a health danger for children.

February 7 — 19 rebelled against government moves which will raise the level of water rates.

February 14 — 13 supported a plan to restrict voting in Euro-elections to British citizens.

Sir Ian has voted against the Government three times, twice on the future of London and once on water. Mr Pym voted against the Government on Stansted. But votes against the Government by senior dissidents are relatively rare. The younger MPs tend to be more fractious.

The most prolific rebel so far is Den Dover, a former GLC councillor who has represented Chelsey since 1983.

He has voted seven times against the Government.

Robert Hicks (Cornwall SE) comes much closer than Mr Dover to most people's idea of a card carrying wet. He was one of the Conservative MPs whom the Social Democratic Party hoped to capture during the last Parliament. He has voted five times against the Government.

Seven Tories have voted four times against the Government including two new members, Mr Terry Dicks (Hayes and Harlington), one of many new MPs who came to Westminster from local government, and Mr Neil Hamilton from Tatton.

Curiously, the first vote cast against the government in this session by one of its own supporters came from a junior minister at the Northern Ireland Office, Mr Nicholas Scott. Having asked the House to reject a Unionist amendment to the Elections (Northern Ireland) Bill, he hurried into the division lobby to vote only to discover too late that it was the wrong one.

By a time-honoured Commons custom, he was able to race into the other lobby and cast a second vote, this time against the amendment, thus cancelling himself out.

One of the aims of the bill is to prevent people in the province voting more than once in elections.

## Police fear losing power to Whitehall with joint boards

By Stephen Cook

The police and the Home Office are increasingly worried about the Government's plans to replace police authorities by joint boards when the six Metropolitan counties are abolished in a year's time.

They are concerned that the joint boards, which consist of local councillors and magistrates, will find it hard to agree about policing problems and priorities, leaving more power in the hands of central government.

Labour politicians also point out that the six police authorities, covering a third of the country's population outside London and which are now controlled by directly-elected Labour majorities, will pass oversight under the control of nominated Conservative councillors and appointed magistrates.

This will in theory give chief constables a much freer hand. But the Government plans to rein in the boards, spending power for their first three years, and chief constables may well find themselves battling with the Home Office over finance rather than with their police authorities over alleged attempts at political control.

Mr Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary, has said that district councils could in due course form separate police forces, an idea fiercely opposed by the Home Office, which has spent the past 10 years consolidating the police force amalgamations of 1974.

Lord Whitelaw, Deputy Prime Minister and former

Home Secretary, has told an academic research, Mr Barry Lovelock, of Birmingham Polytechnic, that the joint boards could cause problems. "The people concerned will come from different councils, with different views," he said.

"It is all very well saying there is already a joint police authority from different counties in the Thames Valley, but Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire have a good deal more in common than the Wirral and St Helens."

"The chairman of the new police authority of this sort, on Merseyside or wherever, is going to have a difficult time."

Some senior police officers, who requested anonymity for fear of being accused of political interference, regret the prospect of established working relationships with police authorities being destroyed.

Mr Edwin Shore, chairman of the police committee of the Labour-controlled Association of Metropolitan Authorities, says that members of police authorities have been building up experience and are "only beginning to ask the right questions."

Nominated councillors from districts are unlikely to have the same commitment, he says, and their interests will be parochial. "One third of the boards will be magistrates and they will hold the balance if the Tories don't have control."

The chief constables will run rings round them, and I think the Home Office will end up taking far greater control if they're going to keep things on an even keel."

## Inquiry into shooting

By Penny Charleston

A police inquiry is going on into allegations that six officers shot at suspected raiders in a London street on Saturday without giving any warning.

The police officers shot and wounded one of the men, who had a bullet removed from his chest on Saturday night.

He has not been named, but was said by police yesterday to be "satisfactory" and under guard at the Middlesex Hospital.

Two other men were charged with conspiracy to rob, and possession of a revolver. Paul Gray, aged 20, from Islington, north London, and Delroy Brown, aged 23, from Edmonton, both men played, will appear in court at store with the day's takings.

Clerkenwell today. The internal inquiry into the shooting is headed by Detective Chief Superintendent David Bretton. Under Metropolitan Police rules on the issue and use of firearms, officers are required to warn that they are armed, before firing at an armed suspect.

According to several witnesses in Caledonian Road, Islington, no warning was heard.

The police, who had apparently been tipped off about a planned raid at a freezer centre, leapt from a taxi and used an unmarked car to ram the alleged raiders' vehicle.

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Three-month target for the huge military operation

## Israel starts second phase of Lebanon withdrawal

From David Landau in Jerusalem

The Israeli Army yesterday began the second stage of its withdrawal from south Lebanon, within hours of a unanimous cabinet decision approving the pullback.

The second stage encompasses much of the south-east, from the Barukh mountains down into the Bekaa Valley, where the Israelis have been facing the Syrians for nearly three years. When it is completed—within three months, according to military sources—the Israeli line will run just north of the Druze town of Hazbaya.

The Defence Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, told the Cabinet yesterday that a three-month target was the tightest schedule the army could meet. He pointed out that there was still snow on the ground, which would slow the removal work, and that an enormous amount of equipment had to be dismantled and transported—or else blown up.

The Israelis have a large electronic intelligence-gathering facility on top of Mount Barukh which will be relinquished as part of the withdrawal.

Government sources denied that yesterday's decision had been hastened in response to the army in Lebanon, or to growing public pressure to speed up the withdrawal.

In January, the Cabinet decided on the three-stage pull out, not specifying a time frame for each stage, but undertaking the withdrawal of the army from Lebanon by the summer. Late in February, the army completed the first stage, evacuating the port of Sidon and its hinterland, on the western side of south Lebanon. Guerrilla attacks on Israeli troops have increased since then, however, especially in the area around Tyre, and Mr. Rabin has introduced a harsh "firm hand" policy in the villages still under Israeli control on the western front.

to curb the Shi'ite resistance. On Saturday, the Shi'ite Amal leader in Beirut, Mr. Nabih Berri, warned that his adherents would take their fight over the border into Israel itself unless the army's harassment ceased.

The eastern front, scene of the new pullback, has been relatively quiet. Nevertheless, the army is taking the meticulous care to guard the troops as they set about the complex logistical task of packing and loading entire bases on to convoys of huge lorries.

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## Peace initiative taking shape

From David Land in Cairo, and agencies

YASSER ARAFAT is firmly committed to the Palestine Liberation Organisation's agreement with Jordan on a joint approach towards peace in the Middle East.

But the PLO chairman denounced the United States for its "shameful response" to the accord, "a hypocritical" refusal to recognise the Palestinian group and its "bizarre bias" towards Israel, the New York Times reported yesterday.

In an interview conducted at a Tunisian resort, Mr. Arafat also repeatedly refused to endorse the UN Security Council resolution 242, a key document calling for the return of territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war in exchange for peace. The resolution, endorsed as a basis for peace by Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and the US, refers to Palestinians as "refugees" rather than providing for Palestinian self-determination.

Mr. Arafat said that he had not totally rejected the Egyptian President, Mr. Mubarak's plan for a peace summit with Israel.

In Jerusalem, the Prime Minister, Mr. Shimon Peres, told his Cabinet yesterday that Israel would need a Jordanian delegation that included Palestinians "any time or any place."

But he reiterated Israel's objections to President Mubarak's suggestion that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian team meet American negotiators in Washington before Israel joined the talks. This "should be rejected," he said.

The Prime Minister, commenting on diplomatic contacts with Egypt last week, said: "We must continue to coordinate positions between Israel and the United States on broadening the peace in our region, encouraging and advancing any peace proposal."

He appeared to be keeping aloof Israel's interest in Mr. Mubarak's initiative. Some cabinet officials have called the Egyptian proposals sketchy and said that peace talks were not imminent.

Officials speaking to reporters hours after Mr. Peres's return from talks in Cairo denied reports of a planned Peres-Mubarak summit in the near future.

In Cairo, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Esmat Abdel-Negulo, also dismissed the prospect of an early summit.

President Mubarak is still to take his proposal to Washington when he pays an official visit later this month. He also reportedly is trying to rally support in Arab capitals.

President Mubarak and King Hussein of Jordan will meet in Egypt on Wednesday to formalise the joint peace proposals to be presented to President Reagan.

Government sources said that King Hussein had already agreed privately to endorse the proposals.

The precise proposal is not yet clear, but Mr. Mubarak seems to be calling for a three-stage approach to peace.

First, there would be direct dialogue between the United States and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation; second, expanded talks in Cairo involving Israel and other interested parties; and third, an international conference to put its seal of approval on a settlement.

His aim, aides to the Egyptian leader say, is to be able to go to the White House representing a coalition of moderate Arab states with a common plan for peace, and thereby to force a favourable response from Washington. — Los Angeles Times.

## Zia by-passes assembly to seize extra powers

From Al J. Brodie in Islamabad

General Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, without waiting to consult the National Assembly returned in last week's elections, has decreed constitutional changes which give him sweeping powers.

General Zia will choose the prime minister, the armed forces chiefs, and the four provincial governors. In addition, he will have absolute power to decide his powers under the Constitution and indemnity clauses ensure that he cannot be questioned.

His only concession to the elected assembly is not to give himself a veto of legislation, but delay proceedings for 45 days. However, he can dissolve Parliament whenever he thinks fit.

Convening on March 23, the new parliament will be empowered to overturn General Zia's Constitution, but the obstacles seem insuperable. Opponents will need a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly and the Senate, which is not directly elected, and a simple majority in each of the four provincial assemblies.

As those who took part in the non-party elections were almost all to some degree pro-regime, a revolt of those proportions seems unlikely.

By ignoring the claims of the newly elected to power, General Zia will have hardened some attitudes.

The healthy turnout at the poll led many members-elect to believe they had a popular mandate. The defeat of many closely associated with the regime was seen as a vote for democracy, and against dictatorship.

General Zia's announcement on Saturday night crushed a brief flowering of optimism.

The General insisted that the prime minister will be the chief executive. But the new executive authority of the country will be vested in the President and will be exercised by him. Under the 1973 parliamentary constitution, executive authority was exercised "in the name of the President, by the Federal Government."

Article 91 states that the Cabinet will "aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions." The President shall act in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet. Article 48 says but is followed by an unequivocal subparagraph giving the President full discretion to act in any way he is empowered by the Constitution.

The arbiter of those powers is the President whose decision on the matter shall be final and the validity of anything done by the President shall not be called into question.

There are several such absolute clauses, and under the amendments, the President can give himself extensive powers without them being called into question in any way. So there is little check on his powers as drafted.

"It could just introduce a workable system," a Western diplomat said, "but much would depend on the person and disposition of the President."

General Zia has written his own name into the Constitution. Because of December's controversial referendum, which was widely accepted as fraudulent, he is to be President for five years from the sitting of Parliament.

General Zia's stated plan is to introduce some form of civilian democracy gradually. Several members-elect of the National Assembly have said it will fail unless Parliament is given real power.

Some say they will quit if such "civilian democracy" turns out to be merely what the opposition politicians said it would be — a cover for General Zia's power. But they are still prepared to give it a chance, not wanting to destroy the plan before it begins. "We never expected democracy immediately," said one.

A clause in the constitutional amendments, which are called The Revival of the Constitution of 1973 Order, states that the provision of Article 8, which states that any laws inconsistent with fundamental rights are void, shall not apply to the President's orders.

Observers are concerned lest this implies that, despite a Cabinet and legislature, General Zia intends to continue rule by decree. This he does at present under martial law which will not be lifted when the assembly convenes. Martial law will be phased out during the coming months, he said.

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General Zia: changes guarantee presidency

## Bulawayo sealed off for search

From Andrew Meldrum in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

The highest military clampdown ever imposed in this capital of Zimbabwe province, a stronghold of the opposition, leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, was lifted last night after two days. Police had searched houses for weapons.

Black blocks manned by armed soldiers and officers of the Central Intelligence Organisation, sealing off the sprawling western suburbs that are home to about 400,000 blacks were earlier yesterday moved further from the city centre. But residents inside the military cordon were allowed to leave their homes.

It had seemed likely yesterday that the sealed-off western area would open this morning in allow township residents to return to work.

The western suburbs are home to an estimated 400,000 blacks, representing about 90 per cent of Bulawayo's population, and a continuation of the strict curfew would bring the city's industry and commerce to a halt.

Mr. Nkomo left his home in the townships as the curfew was imposed and arrived in Harare yesterday where he said that the operation was an effort to intimidate and demoralise supporters of his Zanu party.

The Government said that the clampdown was needed to quell factional violence between the Zanu and Zanu parties which has claimed 10 lives in the past two weeks.

Zanu officials said that the strict curfew is just another aspect of the ruling Zanu party's effort to break Zanu's support in this city and the surrounding area. They tell of a series of abductions of hundreds of community leaders from the rural areas, confirmed by missionary sources.

The sources, who all wish to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals, also described how busloads of Zanu's youth brigades came to Matabeland towns and villages with armed military escorts. They viciously beat the locals, exhorting them to vote for the Prime Minister's party, Zanu, as the armed men stood by.

The youth brigade, along with leaders from the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade, is blamed for the unexplained disappearances of local Zanu officials, teachers, and hospital administrators. According to the accounts, civilians are taken away at night by men driving unmarked white Land Rovers which have no licence plates. The abductees are reported to have hit lists. No one knows where the abducted people have gone, and they are presumed dead.

Some people who knew they were being sought fled to friends' homes in Bulawayo and it is not known if they were detained in the house, to-house searches this weekend.

Now Zanu supporters said: "Now was you that you taken away in one of those white vans you will never come back." He added: "They think that by taking our leaders they can frighten us to vote for Zanu, but I think our people are stronger than that. The curfew is much larger than previous clampdowns of the townships in 1983 and 1984. The Zimbabwe Army's first, third, fourth, and fifth brigades are taking part."

People who took up with friends inside the township said that the searches have generally been orderly.

There are, however, reports from township residents that some of the houses allegedly arrested had been broken into. The homes of four senior Zanu officials in the eastern suburbs, formerly white, were searched yesterday morning. Sydney Mumba, Zanu's chief parliamentary spokesman, reported that two of his sons were taken into custody.

The five-man crew of a French air force plane, engaged in famine relief, was seized by rebels in northern Ethiopia yesterday.

The shifting pattern of guerrilla advance and retreat, the crew may not have realised that the town Lalibela, where they landed with 84 tons of food, was in rebel hands. In October, rebels took possession of the town and captured several foreigners, who were later released.

The plane, a twin-engine Transal capable of carrying 80 passengers or 17 tons of freight, left the French territory of Djibouti and landed in Addis Ababa without receiving any warning of problems ahead. It then flew on to Lalibela, 200 miles north of the capital in Wollo province. Wollo had been badly hit by famine and security problems.

A West German plane flew over Lalibela after the incident and saw the Transal abandoned. The five Frenchmen, two officers and three NCOs, were being held hostage and taken to an unknown destination, according to French diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa.

The French military authorities in Djibouti were put on alert.

## Cash to fight pirates

From Iain Guest in Geneva

TWELVE Western governments, including Britain, have agreed here to contribute another \$2.7 million (\$2.5 million) to help the Thai navy fight piracy when the next campaign expires in June.

Fifty-nine Vietnamese refugees were killed by pirates last year—an increase on the 42 deaths reported in 1983. Last year, donors contributed \$3.6 million to the anti-piracy programme, which has been extended annually since it began in June, 1982. The money has been spent funding aerial and naval patrols.

Some Western countries refused to participate on the grounds that it was a disguised form of military aid to the Thai armed forces. Others, including the British Government, were upset by reports early last year that Thai vessels had towed off Vietnamese refugee boats, and even rammed them.

The reports caused a crisis in relations between the Thai Government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, but there is general agreement here that they were responsible for a much tougher approach towards piracy by the Thais last year.

Not a single pirate was convicted in 1983. According to UNHCR figures presented to the meeting, 25 Thai fishermen from six fishing vessels were arrested last year and charged with crimes of "rape, abduction, robbery, attempted robbery and restraint of liberty." No one was reported to have been charged with murder.

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## Rebels say troops executed in Iran

By Liz Thurgood

Iran has tried and executed 108 soldiers found guilty of deserting, spying for the enemy, and spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda, leaving guerrilla sources said in London yesterday.

The claim is based on two government papers, marked "top secret," that the Pajman-Khalaj said came into the guerrillas' possession last week from soldiers sympathetic to their Marxist-Leninist cause.

The executions cannot be independently confirmed, but

IRAN handed over 27 wounded and disabled Iraqi prisoners of war to Iraqi officials at Ankara airport yesterday. A Turkish Foreign Ministry statement said that the transfer was headed by the Turkish Red Crescent organisation.

similar, although less detailed, claims are frequently made by Iran's many opposition groups.

The first paper, dated September 23, 1984, is a confidential letter from the ground forces commander, Colonel Jafar, informing senior officers that the soldiers were executed on September 23 and 24. The executions took place at the "war fronts."

In the second purported paper, the secretary of the supreme council of defence, Mr. M. Nazaran, warns the heads of the armed forces, revolutionary guards, gendarmes, and police that the number of deserters has risen to 25



NEWS  
IN BRIEFAids test  
approved  
in US

THE US Government at the weekend announced approval of a controversial new test aimed at preventing transmission of the deadly Aids virus through blood transfusions.

The test for exposure to acquired immune deficiency syndrome could prevent as many as 150 cases of the disease a year, Dr Frank Young, commissioner of the US Food and Drug Administration, told a news conference.

He said that the test should be available in blood banks and private medical laboratories in the next four to six weeks to determine if the blood donor has antibodies against Aids. — Reuters.

## Zia swayed

PAKISTAN'S military government has commuted death sentences on three men convicted of aiding a 1981 hijacking but a fourth man is to hang this week. The sentences, which stemmed from the hijack by the outlawed opposition group, Al-Zulfikar, led by two sons of executed former prime minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, aroused international concern when they were announced in November. — Reuters.

## Journalist freed

MARTIN Coenen, a Belgian journalist, was freed after an international outcry over his arrest. He was freed at a special hearing after being detained in custody last Wednesday for refusing to divulge the source of a report on chemical pollution. — Reuters.

## Script for strike

HOLLYWOOD scriptwriters have voted to strike from midnight tonight in a move that could bring studios to a standstill, the Writers' Guild of America said. The guild says the main dispute is over a demand for a share of royalties from the sale of videos of films and television programmes, an industry which could soon be worth billions. — Reuters.

## Killer avalanche

EIGHT people have died in Switzerland's worst avalanche disaster in 15 years and three more are still missing. Police said yesterday that eight bodies were pulled from a car and a small bus buried after the avalanche engulfed a road between Zermatt and Täsch in south-western Switzerland. — Reuters.

## Shuttle setback

THE US space agency, Nasa, has called off Thursday's mission by the space shuttle Challenger to launch the satellite programme and a blow to a French astronaut and a US senator due to be on board. The agency said there were problems in a US satellite to go into orbit. — Reuters.

## 'God' executed

CHINA has executed two criminals who styled themselves "God" and "The Emperor" and went round rural areas collecting disciples and sexually assaulting women, the China Law Journal reported. — Reuters.

## Exercises off

WEST GERMAN exercises with US Pershing-II missiles have been postponed until an inquiry is completed into an accident involving a missile which killed three US soldiers and injured 18.

US rules out any hopes of  
new Nicaragua talksContadora  
plan revived  
in struggle  
for peace

By Jonathan Steele

The United States has ruled out any early resumption of talks with Nicaragua, but the Contadora process—Latin America's own effort to bring about peace in Central America—has been revived.

This is the main outcome of a flurry of diplomatic contacts between Latin American leaders and the United States in Montevideo at the weekend after the inauguration of Uruguay's new civilian president, Dr Julio Sanguinetti.

Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega announced the settlement of a dispute over a student who had sought refuge in the Costa Rican embassy in Managua which had led to the suspension of the latest round of Contadora meetings last month. "We have removed the pretext for halting Contadora," Mr Ortega said.

The student, who was arrested near the embassy gates in disputed circumstances, is to be freed this week and flown to Colombia.

Costa Rica, meanwhile, has ordered the expulsion of Adolfo Calero, one of the leaders of the anti-Sandinista rebels.

As a result of the deal, which was largely put together by the Colombian President, Mr Belisario Betancur, the five Central American countries are expected to meet the Contadora group in May to try to agree on a new draft of a peace treaty for the region.

Direct talks between the

United States and Nicaragua, however, which were broken off by the United States in January, remain frozen despite of an hour-long meeting between President Ortega and the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, before breakfast on Saturday.

Chances of a breakthrough seemed dim before the meeting in the light of the stepped-up rhetoric against Nicaragua by the Reagan Administration. As the effort to persuade Congress to renew funding for the contras moves into high gear, the Administration clearly feels it would be a contradiction to be negotiating with a government it says it wants to overthrow.

Mr Shultz emerged from the meeting to announce that he had repeated the long-standing American demand that Nicaragua reduce its army, withdraw all Soviet and Cuban military advisers, and stop supporting "subversion" in Central America. "I don't know that anything much has changed," he said.

He said Nicaragua's announcement last week that 100 Cuban advisers would go this year raised more questions than it answered. "The question is how many Cubans are there?" he asked. US officials claim there are about 8,000 Cuban advisers in Nicaragua, including about 2,500 military advisers.

Mr Ortega said repeated Nicaraguan peace initiatives had fallen on deaf ears in the United States.

Contra ultimatum  
covers the cracks

From Paul Ellman in San Salvador

Anti-Sandinista groups have managed a minimal display of unity by issuing a joint ultimatum to the Nicaraguan Government to open a "national dialogue" leading to new elections.

The ultimatum was issued in San Jose, Costa Rica, after a gathering of 21 Nicaraguan opposition leaders. The meeting has infuriated President Luis Alberto Monge and the Costa Rican Government.

The meeting was the outcome of a month of intense efforts to bring the anti-Sandinista forces together in a show of unity against the Reagan Administration to bolster its

THE Nicaraguan Government last night firmly rejected any possibility of negotiating with the rebels. Vice-President Sergio Ramirez said the talks demanded in the ultimatum "would achieve nothing."

campaign to secure congressional approval for aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, or Contras. Although they had to call off a press conference they had planned because of pressure from Costa Rica, the rebels managed to distribute a five-page document detailing their demands.

Managua was given until March 20 to accept the dialogue call and was warned that refusal would "put an end to the possibility of a peaceful solution to the national crisis."

Among the items to be treated in the proposed dialogue, according to the document, were the dismantling of "all repressive organisations," including neighbourhood vigilante committees, and the immediate dissolution of the Constituent Assembly elected last November.

The document said that the dialogue should be organised and coordinated by the Roman Catholic Church and should

also involve the other governments of Central America. "This document has not been signed to form an alliance or a military and political structure," said Dr Arturo Cruz, who was briefly last year the presidential candidate of the opposition coalition known as the "Concordancia democrática."

The Coordinadora, however, let it be known from Managua that it was not involved in the ultimatum.

Equally significant was the absence from the ultimatum of the signatures of Mr Enrique Rivera, leader of the Miskito Indian guerrilla alliance known as the Minista, which operates in Nicaragua's Atlantic littoral, and that of Mr Eden Pastora, the Sandinista dissident who runs his own insurgency in southern Nicaragua.

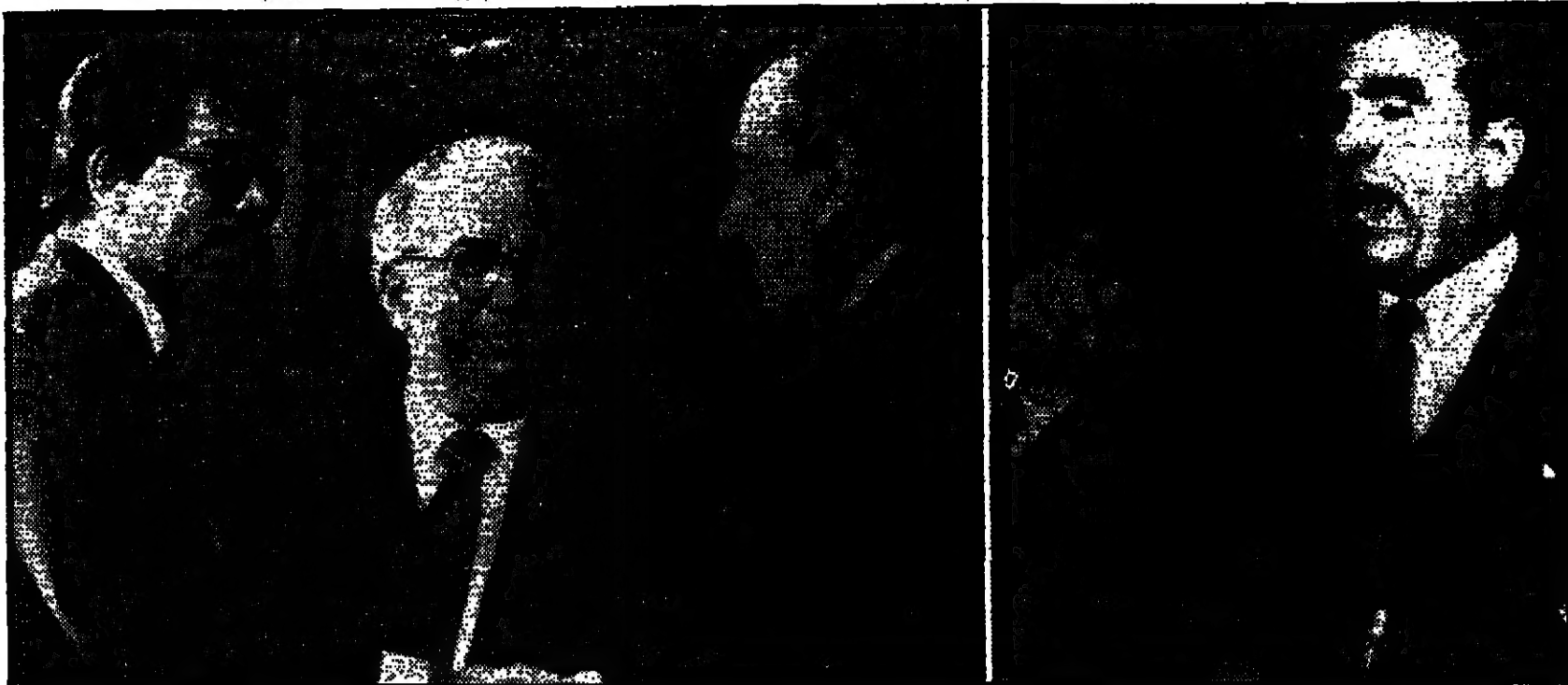
The document was signed by Mr Adolfo Calero, head of the biggest anti-Sandinista guerrilla group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), which operates from bases in Honduras.

If for no other reason, Managua is likely to reject the ultimatum because of the FDN involvement. The group relies heavily upon former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard which propped up the Somoza dictatorship.

The ultimatum falls far short of what Washington hoped would turn into a formal alliance of groups opposed to the Sandinista Government. The White House had hoped to be able to demonstrate to Congress that the anti-Sandinista forces had buried their differences.

Mr Reagan has been trying to secure congressional approval for \$14 million in aid to the rebels.

The failure of the rebels to agree to little more than a common set of goals, is expected to lead to an early resumption of talks between Managua and Washington, suspended by the US in January.



Uruguay celebrates: The presidents of Nicaragua, Mr Daniel Ortega (left), Mr Belisario Betancur of Colombia (centre) and Mr Raul Alfonsín of Argentina (right) chat briefly before President Sanguinetti (far right) calls for Latin American integration at his swearing-in ceremony

## Uruguay celebrates Sanguinetti triumph

Political prisoners' release masks problems of military cutbacks and economic recovery

By Malcolm Cook

The newly sworn-in President, Mr Julio Sanguinetti, moved abruptly at the weekend to restore his country's political freedoms as Uruguayans celebrated his installation with street demonstrations and open-air concerts.

Mr Sanguinetti, of the Centrist Colorado Party, was elected in November after the 11-year-old military regime disintegrated in the face of opposition protest.

Within hours of Friday's swearing-in, leftwing groups, such as the Communist party and the 26 March Movement—the political successors to the pre-coup Tupamaros guerrillas, who have now laid down their arms—were legalised.

Some 4,000 members of these groups were banned from voting in November's elections under the pact with the military which allowed the poll to go ahead.

Also legalised were the pre-coup trade union confederation, the National Workers' Convention; the Federation of University Students; the Peace and Justice Service Human Rights Organisation; and the country's leading theatre company, El Galpon, which was exiled by the military.

President Sanguinetti also restored diplomatic relations with Venezuela, which were broken off in 1978 when armed government agents dragged a woman claiming asylum out of Venezuela's embassy in Montevideo. Diplomatic ties with Cuba are likely to follow, and eventually with China.

With such uncontroversial measures under his belt, however, Mr Sanguinetti now faces a succession of far tougher problems, almost any of which could threaten the country's

will for consensus, or bring back the military. No one believes that the armed forces are anxious to return, but the army commander, General Hugo Medina, made his position clear only days ago by saying that if social tensions such as those in 1973 were repeated the military would "have no alternative but to repeat the coup."

Such threats may now cost General Medina his post, as the Government tackles one of its thorniest problems, the military itself. No plans have been announced, but the Defence Minister, Mr Juan Viñante Chirino (leader of the small, conservative Catholic party, the Civic Union, and one of three ministers drawn from outside the Colorado), said at the weekend that "modifications" of the high command were necessary, as well as an "appreciable" cut in numbers.

"If the military think they can continue with their old prerogatives, they are fundamentally mistaken," he said. More of a problem for the Government, however, will be the fate of remaining political prisoners. This caused ructions within minutes of Parliament's first session on February 15, when the populist National, or Blanco, Party (which has two ministers in the Cabinet) and the leftwing Broad Front coalition won a motion calling for a general release.

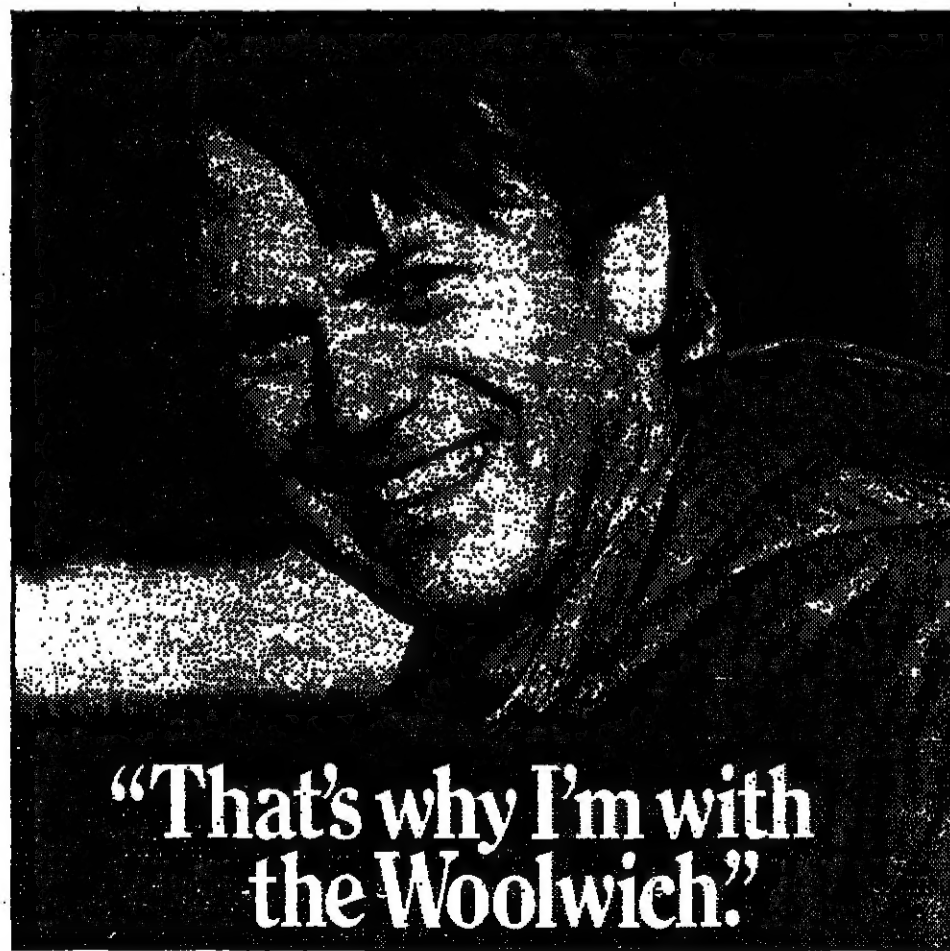
President Sanguinetti is sceptical about his economic programme. So far, there is agreement among the parties on the principles of wage and pension rises, an improved housing programme, and increases in health and education budgets. But union leaders say that unless these pledges are strictly held to, "the workers will be ready to fight to achieve these minimum needs."

ment with extreme neo-liberalism has left industry shattered, unemployment and underemployment at 30 per cent, wages at 47 per cent of their real pre-coup value, and a much inflated foreign debt of \$5.5 billion. In his swearing-in speech, Mr Sanguinetti emphasised that the foreign debt cannot be serviced this year, and called for "comprehension at home and abroad." The unions, the Blancos, and the Broad Front are extremely sceptical about his economic programme.

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EQUITABLE BUILDING SOCIETY

FBI rounds up neo-Nazi gang  
on murder, robbery charges

From Alex Brummer in Washington

Federal agents have made a series of arrests in seven states which, they hope, will bring an end to a wave of armed robberies, attacks on federal officials, and other crimes, including murder, carried out by a shadowy neo-Nazi group calling itself The Order or the Silent Brotherhood.

The most publicised crime allegedly carried out by the group and its ringleaders was the murder of Mr Alan Berg, host of a Denver radio phone-in show, who was gunned down outside his home last June. It was believed at first that Mr Berg had been killed by a caller angered by some of his comments.

But investigators looking into a series of armed robberies which netted some \$4 million have linked Mr Berg's murder to the Silent Brotherhood and its plans to build a large fund for "wage war" against the US Government

which, the Brotherhood asserts, has been taken over by Jews. Federal agents have now arrested more than 20 suspects thought to be the ringleaders of the Silent Brotherhood. According to the accounts of the investigators, at least four members of the Brotherhood took part in the murder of Mr Berg.

The authorities are seeking to confirm links between the group and a number of other active fringe rightwing groups in the US, including the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazis. Details of the connection between these groups have been disclosed in testimony before a grand jury in Seattle.

Among those called before the Seattle jury, according to police sources quoted yesterday in the New York Times, was Mr Richard Girnt Butler, aged 65, head of the Aryan Nations - a large neo-Nazi group based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The paper reported that Mr Butler had been questioned about the relationship between

some Aryan Nations members who have been arrested in connection with robberies and other crimes carried out by the Order/Brotherhood.

Mr Butler reportedly described several of the indicted men, including the late Mr Robert Matthews, aged 31, the founder of the order, as heroes. Mr Matthews died on December 8, 1984, when the FBI dropped a flare from a helicopter on a house in which he was hiding. Mr Matthews had earlier shot at federal officers who had surrounded the house.

While the Berg case and the confrontation with Matthews made the national news, it was not until recently that it became known that these cases and several others were apparently linked through the Order/Brotherhood. Among other crimes allegedly carried out by the group was an armed robbery of a security van in Ukiah, California, last June when a dozen men, armed with automatic weapons, surrounded a truck from which they stole some \$3.6 million.







# How to avoid getting stuck in the wrong career.

You start at a disadvantage.

Aged 21, or younger, you are expected to pick a career that will shape the rest of your life.

How unreasonable.

After all, would you marry a girl you'd never met? Or buy a house you'd never seen?

It's just as foolish to plunge into a career you know nothing about.

There's not much point in discovering, halfway up the ladder in, say, banking, that you'd rather be making documentary films.

Or serving abroad with the Foreign Office.

Ten years hence, you'll probably have a mortgage and a young family.

It will be, in the words of the song, much too late for goodbye.

**First, find out what you're good at.**

Ideally, you wouldn't specialise straightaway.

You'd spend your first few years exploring different jobs.

Finding out what excites and what bores you. What you're good at and what you should definitely avoid. (As Somerset Maugham said, only the mediocre are always at their best.)

Above all, you'd discover what you most enjoy doing. Then you'd stick at it.

Unfortunately, with three million out of work, nobody can afford to flit from job to job.

Yet there is no single career that can give you the variety of work experience you need.

Or is there?

**We'll coax your talents out of hiding.**

As well as soldiering, an Army Officer can find himself tackling unusual jobs.

*Making documentary films. Serving with the Foreign Office. Training to be an astronaut. Practising law. Writing books and magazine articles. Leading an Himalayan expedition. Solving land disputes. Teaching degree courses. Conserving wildlife in the Antarctic. Acting as equerries to the Royal Family. Organising disaster relief. Devising computer programs. Building bridges and airfields. Underwater archaeological exploration.*

The list could go on to fill the rest of this page.

Think about it. What other career could allow you to develop in so many different directions?

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Our work takes us all over the world. Places like Berlin and Hong Kong could be familiar territory.

You would live and work in them, not just visit as a tourist.

But don't expect life to be one long holiday.

You might well serve in Northern Ireland. Or on the tense East/West German border.

We may send you to the snake-infested jungles of Belize. (You'll need a machete and your wits about you.)

Picture yourself trekking out of Kathmandu to pay pensions to retired Gurkha warriors.

Officers serving with the Gurkhas must speak Gurkhal. So we'd teach you.

We could also teach you Arabic, Chinese, German, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. (Not to mention quite a few computer languages.)

**Room at the top.**

Naturally, we hope most of the young men we train will make their long term careers with us.

But we've had our share of failures.

Several very promising officers have, for instance, gone on to become Prime Ministers.

(Six out of the nine post-war British Prime Ministers served as Army Officers.)

Others deserted us for big business.

(At the last count, the heads of 32 of the top 100 companies in the UK.)

All these renegades recognise the value of an Army training.

So if, after three, five or eight years, you leave us, you will have impeccable credentials.

And a very clear idea of how you want your career to develop.

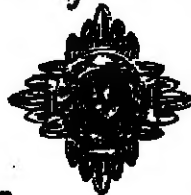
An advertisement can only begin to touch on the huge variety of an Army Officer's work.

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## Army Officer



**Michele Hanson**



Nancy Banks-Smith  
on Space Station  
Milton Keynes

## Bucks fizz

COACH trips regularly go to Milton Keynes where everything has been designed for shopping as it should be, but they never mention coming back. I find that ominous. Do you know anyone who has been to Milton Keynes? Well then.

This satellite town, renowned for its concrete cows, has found its laureate in Leslie Stewart. "It's a city of glass. There are trees and flowers from all over the world. And marble. Acres of it. And, in a field, there are cows as still as statues and a triceratops that never bats an eyelid." Dr Who... Star Trek... Milton Keynes... next to the planet Krypton. As the title of the Space Station Milton Keynes (BBC2) suggests, Sunshine, a girl who is fostered there, sees it as another world, aerial, light, remote, floating. A place for flight.

In this Screen Two play it looks like a vast child's toy. There are things like extending sugar tongs to reach the ceiling of the shopping centre and a fountain with what seems to be a fish bone on it. It looks as if it were designed by someone with a sense of humour and I'm not sure why that makes me feel slightly nervous. Like all modern architecture it looks nice at night, like a page of bright dots waiting to be joined up, and at dawn the splendour falls on solar-heated houses and glids the buttocks of the happy Milton Keynesians lying there. Using Milton Keynes as a space playground was a vivid and evocative idea. All we needed now was a play.

Sunshine was originally a boy but Penny Murray, who lives in Milton Keynes, was such an exceptionally self-possessed and sensitive little girl that the play was rewritten around her. Though not, I think, rewritten enough. The Superman story ("you are a warrior of the lost tribe") no longer fits nor does the Icarus legend, nor the love of rockets and jet planes nor the way she speaks and is spoken to. All these things are turbulence and don't make for a fluent flight.

Whether in the end Sunshine, ascending on the sugar tongs, falls or flies or dies and flies is a matter of opinion. I would say, like the play, she takes off brilliantly and, one way or another, makes an impact.

Phil Drabble has the engaging habit of inventing words as he goes along. Contraptions and chubbled. Contraptions seems a remote relation, or as Alan Plater puzzlingly put it in Miss Marple, "a distant piece" of contraptions. Sophisticated suggests a rather antique polish like those legs Arthur Negus is always running his hands over admiringly. And chubbled as "he chubbled this lovely little owl up for supper."

Favourite Things (BBC2) filmed Drabble on his 80th estate among his geese and pigs and wild white, bottle-fed fawn, all of which he would unhesitatingly eat. "I'm a pretty practical countryman. They have lived naturally and died suddenly and I see no harm in eating them as a reward for that. There is," he added, his eye "roasting," no sweeter picture than a piece of home cured loin. These things are a great shock to the system of a town dweller.

For a while his turn of phrase—"I like to take Jeff with me and go to a really good musical. He had her for a long time. She's been a favourite thing for 85 years"—led me to suppose Jeff was a particularly long-lived bitch with an ear for light music. But it turned out to be Mr Drabble.

On the South Bank Show (LWT) Little Richard gave a performance of such showbiz glitter, so haunting and funny, that I didn't think of him as a comedian. "I created rock 'n' roll and I didn't even know what I was doing... sex is like smorgasbord, you should pick what you want if you keep cocaine, you are going to have company all the time... everybody likes to go to orgies... Jesus stood in front of the tomb and said, 'I come forth little Richard, I was dead and I'm alive.' I'd seen nothing like it since Muhammad Ali."

On The Miners' Strike (Central) at the very moment when Arthur Scargill was holding up a piece of paper and asking "Are you prepared to settle on television in its entirety with the NUM? If so I'll accept," and Michael Eaton was answering "You... you... you..." we were switched over to anti-periphrastics and extra strong mints and then to London Weekend's news section.

Bob Southgate, Central's director of news and current affairs, said he would have liked to continue, but it wasn't possible, technically. He was, in any case, overrunning. In the corner of the screen was the cue dot indicating they were into injury time.

It was ludicrous. Something of the sort might have been anticipated and allowed for. It was also rather odd. Mr Scargill could count, had hung on too long and left it a few minutes too late.

The arts are facing a cash crisis: Nicholas Payne, general manager of Opera North, starts a week-long Guardian series by examining the case for subsidy and the debilitating consequences of putting the performing arts on a starvation diet

## Hard times demand big Napoleonic gestures



GOERING reached for his gun when he heard the word culture. One may forgive poor Lord Gowrie if he fiddles with his water pistol as he listens to the annual whinge of the arts establishment.

He, and his less sympathetic mates in the Government, must be growing weary of the increasingly specious arguments advanced in favour of more public subsidy for the arts, each aimed at a potentially floating vote round the Cabinet table. There's VAT, that's for the Treasury and there's jobs, that's for Employment. There's the tourist trade for you, and nice hard

currency, there's national prestige for you, Prime Minister. And let's not forget the vote, exiled to the back benches, but respectable lobby fodder as they recall the good old "arm's length" principle which has served us so well.

Rosemary for remembrance: pansies for thoughts. These flowers in the arts garden may bloom briefly, but soon they will wither and end up in the glory hole. No, there are only two genuine reasons for subsidising the arts. One is the artist and the other is his public.

Patronage made possible the Medici tombs and the Ring cycle. The post-war Arts Council created a Covent Garden which premiered the four Tippett operas, and an English Stage Company which nurtured a generation of native public playwrights. It has made possible the contemporary dance explosion of the last 15 years, and it virtually invented performance art.

The reason for public subsidy rather than the patronage of Ludwig II, as Wagner sadly understood, is that it makes art available to a wide audience. Not just leisure (to use the public relations jargon), but the full cathartic experience. Lenin thundered that art can reach

the deepest roots of the people. I was reminded in East Germany last week. Not a fashionable author here, and I suppose it is vain to expect of class-divided Britain the accessibility that seems to be natural in both Germany. Our way is more genteel. We cannot (should not) compel people to enjoy opera. We can offer them a choice to do so, at a price they can afford.

I guess that Lord Gowrie might more or less agree with the last two paragraphs. And I find it hard to disagree with his impeccably (well, almost) argued apology in the Observer last month. There is little virtue in a 20 per cent increase for the Arts Council if inflation then runs at 25 per cent.

However, I am beginning to think that the Arts Council grant is the only true barometer of public commitment to the arts. Lip-service is paid to the idea of plural funding, but it doesn't take long to dismiss the other options—local authorities are worn down by rate-capping and by the decline in the rate support grant; business sponsorship is merely marzipan on the cake—and back we go to the poor old Arts Council.

If you look around, you will see a lot of bad art. The size that should sustain the

regional repertory theatres is too often replaced by flat lag beer, brewed by accountants. Even at the National Theatre or the RSC, the norm is meretricious revivals rather than genuine innovation. Internationalism has taken over the majority of the programming of our symphony orchestras and Royal Opera House. It's a bit like scanning the arts summary in the Frankfurt editions of the Financial Times, or checking into a Hilton: luxurious, reassuring, boring. We have become too good at making do in straitened circumstances. The talk is always of money, seldom of art. Experts at husbanding our resources, we are too timid to risk innovations. We reflect our growing insularity and mean-mindedness as a nation, when we should be subverting them.

There are a few pockets of resistance, maybe three or four theatre companies scattered around the country, one of the regional orchestras, an occasional burst from a choreographer or two, perhaps as many as four opera companies on a good night.

But the flame flickers uncertainly. By no means all we do is good enough. If the fire burns out for lack of fuel, what is to become of our great entertainment pal-

aces? Forget the South Bank for a moment. Burger the Barbecue. I am thinking of the large, welcoming theatres of the North.

Leeds City Council (one of the more enlightened local authorities) restored the beautiful Victorian Grand Theatre and Opera House. Raymond Slater (one of the more enlightened businessmen) returned Manchester's Palace Theatre and its Opera House to public use. Merseyside County Council (sic transit gloria...) saved the Liverpool Empire Theatre.

These places are each being visited by hundreds of thousands of people a year for a wide variety of shows. Opera North's recent Christmas season in Leeds played to virtual capacity, breaking all previous box office records. We have similar stories about musicals across the Pennines.

This network of genuinely popular national theatres is in danger of crumbling, if they are not sustained by further major investment in the companies which bring them alive. That requires an effort of political will, which seems beyond the scope of an "arm's length" agency such as the Arts Council and beyond the possibilities of local government acting in isolation. It demands the Na-

poleonic grand gesture, as practised by de Gaulle and Pompidou and Mitterrand, but regarded as vulgar showmanship in sedate Britain.

Or is it? Two examples, one recent, the other from ten years ago. The Department of the Environment, mindful of the economic decline of Liverpool, decided to fund a garden festival there last year to the tune of £16 million. In the event, I am told, almost double that amount was spent on a project which certainly attracted attention for a time.

I am not concerned here that there were forceful local objections that the money could have been better spent; merely with the evidence of government initiative on a fairly large scale. I am also interested in the premise that the same amount of money, spent over a longer period, could have permanently transformed the arts in Liverpool, or any other northern city.

Lord Eccles, when Minister for the Arts, tried a Doherty experiment on a much smaller scale in three politically selected areas. Two more or less fizzled out. The third helped to create, with imaginative local authority support, the Theatre Cymru in Mold, a remarkably successful theatre complex on a

continental model. Eccles' initiative has endured.

I can understand that endurance is not the most attractive quality to politicians elected for five years and with a ministerial career of probably less. Immortality must appeal more to those who would play Napoleon. I can also appreciate that local authorities have other things on the agenda at present. When the roads are falling apart and the fire brigade is undermanned, when you are threatened with abolition, what price opera?

To which the answer is that out of the debris of the second world war came the artistic renaissance of modern Germany—and the Arts Council of Great Britain. From the mess that was Germany, to surround local government re-organisation, something stronger must be created. Not a patched-up job, but a partnership between central and local government which invests in the future.

In 1947 Walter Felsenstein re-launched the Komische Oper in Berlin and over the next 25 years made history. At the moment all that most of us are making is manure.

TOMORROW: Keeping alive the cultural flame in Europe.

### COLISEUM

Edward Greenfield

#### Count Ory

IT IS astonishing that a 22-year-old opera production should remain as fresh and funny as Count Ory at the Coliseum, one of the few ENO productions that has survived from Sadler's Wells days. The stylised heraldic set of Peter Rice—a revolving gold wedding-cake of a castle with crusaders on hobby-horses—still prompts a round of applause when the curtain rises, and the busy production of Anthony Beech matches the size of Rossini's score.

This work is unique in operatic history in containing a mums' drinking chorus, with the wicked Count Ory disguised as a follower roistering convincingly yet with excellent discipline. Rossini's score—arguably his finest after the Barber effect—holds everything aloft after the curiously static prelude. David Perry, director of Opera 80 but new to ENO, conducted a neat well-paced reading.

The singing is generally stylish too. John Brecknock as the predatory Count himself was a little off in the register, but not many British tenors today can match his combination of freedom of tone and precision of attack in this always taxing music. Alan Opie as the Count's friend, Raimond, also survives from the last revival in 1980, relishing his big moment when the bottles are rolled to the thirty male "mums".

The rest are new, including the bright and brilliant Countess Adele of Isabel Buchanan, a welcome star newcomer to the ENO team. Only the occasional rawness of a dazzling and blue performance, with straight-faced humour nicely touched in Jane Edwards as Isolier the Count's maid, was also making her ENO debut with her characteristic, agile mezzo.

Otherwise Anne-Marie Owens was an aptly fruity Ragone, making the castle custodian as formidable as any of Gilbert's dragons in the Savoy operas. Roderick Kennell as the Count's Tutor, towering over his charge, was convincingly baleful in Act 1, though less happy roistering with the lads in Act 2.

For the last performance this season of Gotz Friedrich's new ENO production of Wagner's Tristan and Isolde, Lionel Frisland took over from Reginald Goodall as conductor. Just how much faster his tempo was than those of his dedicated octogenarian predecessor I would not like to say—some passages remained very slow indeed—but his control of the orchestra and the playing of the orchestra superb with fine, burnished string tone.

Central to the success was the commanding singing of Johannes Mier as Isolde, strong and even throughout the range with top Cs ringing out with stunning ease. Linda Finnie as Brangäne sang with matching power and confidence.

Kenneth Woollam, taking over from Alberto Remedios as Tristan for the last three performances gave a felt and always intelligent performance, but the voice has nothing sensuous in it. It was to Mr Woollam's credit that he projected as well as he did, focusing his tone more clearly than he has often done in the past.

Geoffrey Chard remained a firm Kurwenal. John Tomlinson, a musing and deeply expressive King Mark, whose Act 2 monologue for once, with every word clear, brought an intensification not a penance.



Isabel Buchanan as Countess Adele at the Coliseum. Picture by Douglas Jeffery

### COVENTRY

Paul Allen

#### Golden Leaf Strut

LEON Rappolo was the jazz clarinetist whose high, wild improvisations graced the New Orleans Rhythm Kings, one of the white Dixie bands that took the devil's music to lucrative Chicago in the early twenties. The fun lasted two years. Rappolo went back to New Orleans and one day threw his clarinet in a lake. He was consigned to Louisiana State Sanatorium, the older reference books say, "hopelessly addicted to marijuana."

What happened? Julian Garner's play, given its English regional premiere in Robert Hamlin's production at the Belgrade Studio, tells us that Rappolo was the strictly-raised son of a Sicilian immigrant who ran away with an ageing vaudeville queen and probably played for Al Capone before he was out of his teens.

Unfortunately Garner doesn't trust himself or his story enough. His first red herring is not to come clean about his characters; his second is a suggestion that his real theme will be the nature of addiction, whether

to power or possession or the soft drug which is the golden leaf itself. His mystery-making is ingeniously done, but it means the final scene is more about clarifying the play than Rappolo's breakdown.

Three things stop it from turning out altogether mundanely. We get regular reminders of the beguiling, haunted quality of Rappolo's playing. We get the occasional original insight into his state of mind, notably through a late image of him playing out in the countryside accompanied only by the wind in the telegraph wires and feeling "the music leading out of me."

And we get acting of great intensity from Alan Cody, Trevor Allen and Joanna Monro, all playing the emotional weight and passion that should be in the writing rather than the theatrical cleverness that is. They make it work.

### NEW HALF MOON

Nicholas de Jongh

#### Scrap!

BILL MORRISON'S extraordinary and engrossing play, first seen in Liverpool

three years ago, envisages Ireland as a strategic scrap heap on the remote shores of Europe where religious intolerance dooms it to be a satanic playground. The form is film noir, crossed with Orson Welles farce.

The piece, often structured in the briefest of scenes as though originally conceived for television or cinema, has a complex, labyrinthine plot which unconsciously draws all its chief characters to a final, fatal rendezvous in a Liverpool drinking club.

Yet the schematic nature of the plotting rather suits and matches the sinister, conspiring characters; Mulligan, the wild bulky Protestant who pursues his rebellious daughter to Liverpool; Isabel, a dancer, deftly portrayed by Howard Southern, a clever suave chap who believes that "Bribery, blackmail and betrayal" are the only ways to put Ireland "on the right"; and Lennon the cop from whom people want order, not justice.

Eileen Cairns's set, a sombre semi-circle of doors as if for a Feydeau farce, is framed by corrugated iron and accommodates both the play's sleaziness and its abrupt movements about Liverpool. Chris Bond's direction seems intent upon a cinematic realism which neither the play or the setting can take.

But Morrison's sense of Ireland shines through; here

### COVENT GARDEN

Mary Clarke

#### Triple Bill

ONE of the problems with the Royal Ballet today, besides lack of firm direction, rigorous training, discipline and choice of designers, is the apparently lost art of programme building. Bowing, very slightly, to public demand, the company now offers a tiny bit of choice in its triple bills but any mix you take of the present offering is a dire one.

On Saturday night, for example, we began with a masterpiece, Balanchine's Ballet Imperial, and MacLellan's "Different Drummer" as the central piece, and ended with Ashton's Facade.

The present revival, if that is the word, of Ballet Imperial, will surely go down in history as one of the most disastrous performances the Royal Ballet has ever perpetrated. The funeral decor, the over-decorated costumes, the silly addresses for the girls can all be thrown away.

Long memories brought long faces at the Royal Opera House last week. We mourned not only the loss of the promise of Eugene Berlan designs but the clarity and sureness of execution of dancers such as Minka Shearer, Violetta Elvin and Antoinette Sibley in the ballerina role, the joyous ease of Beryl Gray as the second Rameau. What happened? Gone, Michael Somes.

Ravenma Tucker could, with proper coaching, sustain the ballerina role; she's never less than honest in dancing what she has been taught to dance. But it's the corps de ballet dancing that is really lamentable. Where is the "electric flourish of Alex Hamilton's paperback column has been held over.

ensemble movement" that Balanchine invented?

Despite over-bright smiles, the dancers seemed as unhappy as the audience. In Different Drummer they were on safer territory—and Maria Almeida as Marie gave a performance, even more mature, more convincing than did Alessandra Ferri; but there is something wrong when a debut in a dramatic role dominates an evening that should have begun with a cascade of classical dancing.

### BRIXTON

Robin Denselow

#### The Smiths

THE SMITHS may now be the most popular band in Britain, but the contradictions within this tunefully doomy quartet seem ever more bizarre. On one side there is the odd figure of Morrissey, with his doleful voice and intriguing lyrics that offer an orgy of nihilism and sing-along confession for those plagued with inadequacies, mixed in with a horror and fascination with violence. And on the other side there is a backing trio straining at the leash to counter the drifting introspection with their light but impassioned playing.

At Brixton, Morrissey appeared in a new anti-pop star disguise, discarding the hearing aid and the branches sticking from his pocket in favour of wide-brimmed hat and open, baggy shirt that made him look like some Australian outback wanderer at being new romantic, while still sounding like a potential suicide. Only he could sing "What a terrible mess we have made of our lives" as one of the encores or, at the height of his success, complain to his audience that "Life is cool."

In short bursts, as on that most delightfully dismal song Heaven Knows I'm Miserable Now, the Morrissey lament was tuneful and effective.

In larger doses his voice often sounded thin and stretched, and it was for guitarists Johnny Marr to provide the variety. Son on Rushmore Ruffians, a story of violence and lost love at a fairground was matched by a strong riff reminiscent of Presley's His Latest Flame, while on Barbarism Begins at Home the band launched into an up beat funk jam that hardly seemed to match the lyrics. It was an uneven show, but it had its moments, mostly when Morrissey, mostly angry rather than self pity as in his faraway blitz Meat Is Murder. A spotcheck revealed that this vegetarian anthem had completely emptied the hotdog queue.

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## The debris of the strike that's gone

The instant mythology is that mineworkers will walk back to their pits tomorrow without agreement but united and with heads held high. The sad truth is considerably bleaker but must be faced if a divided and defeated union is to pick itself up and dust itself down. That truth runs something like this: the minority members of the National Union of Mineworkers who are still on strike will tomorrow walk back to work — except for those who have called it a day and drifted in, as "new faces" at the start of the 52nd week of the strike. Moreover, they will return without even the comfort of a general and publicly proclaimed amnesty for the more than 700 men sacked for various offences — and with that one third of the union's membership which (constitutionally) ignored the strike call from the beginning.

Let us, for the moment, stick with that brusquely rejected call for a national amnesty. Many strikers had, reluctantly accepted, that the board was not about to let them off the hook with an acceptable negotiated settlement. They accepted, privately, that a fair number of pits deemed by the NCB to be "uneconomic" would be closed this year whatever the small print of the Nacods deal. But they wanted some face-saver and they wanted to do right by members now condemned to pay a heavy price for their activities during the dispute. One of the abiding shames of the mining community is that, after 1926, the coal owners successfully sacked and blacklisted "troublemakers" who were never to work again at their trade. The current purge is a rather different matter in cold logic. But then cold logic is not the mood in which it will be discussed in miners' welfare and pit villages up and down embittered coalfields and the mass of long time, highly professional, working miners know as much.

The 700 sacked men are being punished (twice over, be it noted) for a variety of offences. At one end are those found guilty by the courts of minor acts of yobbery in the heat of picket line confrontations. Alongside them, and yet more pathetic, are men convicted of theft for "picking" coal from the dangerous and commercially worthless (uneconomic, one might say) dumps. Their prosecution, though absolutely lawful, was as vindictive as the systematic persecution of working miners' families by their former comrades. Neither should have happened. At the other end of the scale are lesser numbers of people found guilty by the courts of major acts of criminal violence against persons and property — the homes and cars of "scabs", police and NCB vehicles and pit head offices and computer centres.

The board has a clear duty to those it encouraged to work through the strike. That duty involves excluding from its properties and payroll those who organised and executed the intimidation and the attacks upon working miners and who beat them in their homes. It has every right to refuse to re-employ the bus burners and the computer smashers. Beyond that, however, a coherent and a caring management, concerned with the future of a major industry, would, today, declare an amnesty for all other offenders. It might well be coupled with a challenge to the NUM to declare, equally publicly, that the union will not tolerate any further persecution of those it deems to be "scabs". The board could reasonably make such a limited but substantial amnesty conditional upon a "no victimisation" statement from the union in the course of the week. It is time for a new start.

As the supposed winning team, it is for the board to take the initiative in magnanimity. The outstanding wage question must be swiftly and cleanly sorted out and, with it, the overtime ban. Beyond that, however, are the questions central to the strike itself. In its final document, delivered via the TUC, the board stressed the "vital importance" of re-negotiating the Plan For Coal and the "urgent need" to agree the "constitution membership and role" of the independent body to review contested pit closures. It should be made clear, beyond a peradventure, that the board is waiting to start the serious talking about the future of the industry. Likewise that the talks on the review body are open, without precondition, to the NUM as well as Nacods. The review body, once established, will, the board should make clear, be wide open to appeals from each and every union in the industry. There are, in reality only losers today. But there is the possibility of minimising the losses and starting over.

## And the political accounting

And what, in another part of a stretching and shadowy forest, will be the final political accounting of the past twelve months? A triumphant Mrs Thatcher brandishing her Scargill Factor? A relieved Mr Kinnock, seeking to put the agonies of doubt and evasion behind him? The prompt resumption of politics as usual, whatever that may mean?

This was conflict for the highest stakes. Had the miners "won" on any public judgment, then this Government would either have fallen or drifted ruthlessly towards eventual ignominy. And that perception, for 52 weeks, has dominated Cabinet minds, over-riding other issues — even unemployment. But "winning", for Mrs Thatcher, has no such sweeping conclusions. Last summer and autumn, that simple result might have buoyed her administration forward. A sour winter, however, has chipped away at those certainties. As it became evident that Mr Scargill could only lose, slowly, so the Government and the Prime Minister began to slide in the polls. Initiative after initiative came and went in a morass of detailed points which seemed, curiously, to echo the aftermath of the Falklands. The Prime Minister did not flinch from battle. But when that battle was intrinsically decided, she had no talent for peace-making.

From that standpoint, too, yesterday's vote is the poorest of outcomes. In the end it was impossible to find a formula for peace. In the end there may be only bitterness and further argument, guerrilla warfare moving from pit to pit and area to area. A new start — the basic prerequisite for a basic industry — may be achieved only over years rather than months. In a narrow political sense, of course, the Conservatives sense some benefit in such a protracted finale. Mr Scargill has not appended his name to any settlement. There are no words he will have to live with. He remains, to blame the TUC for its cowardice and to haunt Mr Kinnock. Just as he dominated last year's Labour conference, so he may return next autumn to stir constituency anger against a leadership that distance itself from his fight.

But these are longer range calculations. For the Government, with the conflict essentially over, is left alone once more on the centre stage. It is Conservative economic policies which must now, after six years, be painstakingly assessed. It is Conservative efforts to tackle the blight of unemployment that must be set in stark relief. It is Conservative competence in its question, Mrs Thatcher may have survived one mighty struggle; but — as that shadow lifts — others cluster in a year that could shape the next decade of British political life.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# A Reaganomic lesson for the theatre

Sir, — As an American living in London and enjoying your city's extraordinary and abundant cultural offerings, I deeply lament the Government's cuts in arts funding. Particularly the funding cut that has resulted in the anticipated closure of the Cottesloe Theatre.

To my knowledge, the National Theatre complex is unique in the world. For an American, the chance to find a Medieval Mystery cycle, a Chekhovian comedy and the latest Mamet work presented, in one night under the same roof, at accessible prices, with restaurants and films and music and arts exhibits nearby, is simply overwhelming.

Take heed from us: in the United States, we have many fine "non-profit" (i.e., non-commercial) companies, which exist barely and bravely on individual contributions, corporate donations and Government subsidies. Yet Government funding is being ever-diminished by the Reagan administration, which urges that individuals and corporations take up the slack.

Throughout the country, arts companies are exhausting themselves, fighting over private funds. Yet at the

same time, in Congress, a new tax bill is being considered that will help eradicate the tax incentives for these very private contributions. Should this take place, with both public and private funding so heavily diminished, many of our non-profit companies will fold.

The situation in our commercial sector (no contributions, public or private) is even grimmer. On Broadway, where production costs are enormous, fifty dollars is not an unusual price for a ticket. The modestly-increased arts lover cannot afford to experiment, if indeed to attend theatre at all.

And those who can attend demand blockbusters for their money; which, ironically, pushes production costs up even higher. If a show is not an instant hit, then it must be withdrawn; the public cannot afford to take a chance on it, and the producers cannot afford to play the lottery. Cycle after cycle, the theatre will all end.

I urge members of Britain's arts funding committee: Go to the Cottesloe. See, for example, *My Sister Sam*. Cycle after cycle, the theatre is full and that much of the audience are children, entranced by a work written

over 500 years ago, and telling a story far older than that. See how vividly this story continues to exist on the stage, due to the perfect integrity of the National Theatre ensemble. And please know that such integrity simply cannot exist if the arts are forced to conform to commercial dictates. Do not let the Cottesloe go dark.

Granted, nations must move into the post-industrial age, or the "technological age," or the "mutual assured destruction age," or whatever wretched name this age will be given by posterity (should posterity come about at all). But it is to be hoped that they will not move into the future at the expense of ages past.

Would that any country knew, and could bring to life, whatever dramatic rituals were performed on our soil a half-millennium ago. We cannot. You can. And you can offer the very best of experimental work. I would spend my last dollar (and just about have) to attend your theatre.

London's cultural light is a beacon to the rest of the world. These lights are scattered in every part of the city, from grand concert

halls to tiny fringe theatres. Please keep them lit, for if one goes, the others soon may flicker, in London and throughout the world. — Lisa Moody, 41 Montague Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Sir, — As a member of the Arts Council, and Chairman of its embattled Drama Panel I am inevitably "picking the middle" but for once the insider does, I think, see most of the game — and a very sad game it is.

Both Nicholas Kent and Sir William Beechey have, in particular the regions, lost their seven distinguished practitioners of the art. The likely outcome is that the Government, with shabby professional advice altogether (there are those close to Council who would prefer that), or that ministers will be able to evade their own responsibility for the crisis by standing on the touch-line, watching the Drama team, in righteous fury, kick the Arts Council football straight into their own goal. Yours truly, Tony Church, Chairman, Arts Council Drama Advisory Panel, London EC2.

In order to fight that policy. However the did continue, and they worked astonishingly hard, for extremely long hours to assess clients responses to the Glory of the Garden, and to advise on the distribution of development money to regional theatres, and in so doing radically changed Council's original plans for the better.

Sir William is quite wrong to say that they have made their contribution — it was precisely because I knew the value of that contribution that I fought so hard to retain their services.

So the theatre in England, and in particular the regions, has lost them, seven distinguished practitioners of the art. The likely outcome is that the Government, with shabby professional advice altogether (there are those close to Council who would prefer that), or that ministers will be able to evade their own responsibility for the crisis by standing on the touch-line, watching the Drama team, in righteous fury, kick the Arts Council football straight into their own goal. Yours truly, Tony Church, Chairman, Arts Council Drama Advisory Panel, London EC2.

## New strength in the mines

Sir, the grudging return of the miners to work provides evidence of the failure of the Thatcher experiment, rather than of success.

Although the loyalty of the miners in the coal dispute has been to the international community, it reveals a deeper awareness of the human spirit than do the philosophies of government. The miners' self feeling that industrial wealth is a product of the community is nearer to truth than using the individual as an economic cypher.

Over the past year the miners have learned how to live with poverty, and the springs of nobility will continue to nourish us all. Although abusive and manipulative power has been used to drive most of them back to work, they now have the strength of new insights to add to past experience.

They will have learned that economic measurement is never enough. Always, from Wat Tyler to Martin Luther King, the resurgence of spiritual values among the dispossessed has inspired later generations to throw off bondage. The process continues.

It is unfortunate that the Thatcher economic dream faded. There was a need for the industry and discipline which inspired her understanding. Perhaps, had her government applied its remedies to the activities of currency speculators and tax avoiders just as resolutely, her brave ideal might have been realised. Lewis Watlin, 26 Gosford Road, Beccles, Suffolk.

## On the level

Sir, — I am happy to answer Dr Ball's request (Letters, January 28) for the exact tar delivery of Benson & Hedges applied to Sudan: it was 15 mg. The brand therefore complied with government requirements. In fact, all our brands comply with government requirements.

To take account of taste, however, there are different laws and regulations and even (though this may come as a shock to some) different consumer preferences. Tar deliveries do therefore vary a little to take account of taste.

The figures quoted by Dr Ball bear little resemblance to our own or even the figure reported in a World Health Organisation study for Benson & Hedges in Malaysia (one of the maps referred to) it was 18.3 mg during the period 1981-83.

The subject of cigarette delivery levels is too complex for a brief letter. However, at the heart of Dr Ball's letter (and one of the reasons why my company manufactures cigarettes for export to Third World countries which have significantly higher tar levels than those on sale in the UK. This is not true, Yours faithfully, Martin Cannon, BAT (UK and Export) Ltd, Woking, Surrey.

● Saturday's Leader about the IRA should have referred to a confederation of the two Islands, not the two Irelands.

## Lasting issues in a Scottish housing crisis

Sir, — Jean Stead's interesting, if depressing, two articles on the Glasgow housing crisis are a timely reminder of the current lack of investment in Scottish housing: a case which has been made extensively by the Scottish Construction Industry Council and the RIAS over the past few years.

Nonetheless, I hope that the balance of her articles were more accurate than the reasons which were advanced for some of Glasgow's current problems.

It is, of course,arrant nonsense to say that architects are new entrants to decision-making like Coventry Cathedral: maybe that was the case 30 years ago but not now. In any case, in Glasgow, the majority of buildings to which people now object were not in fact designed by architects but by package dealers.

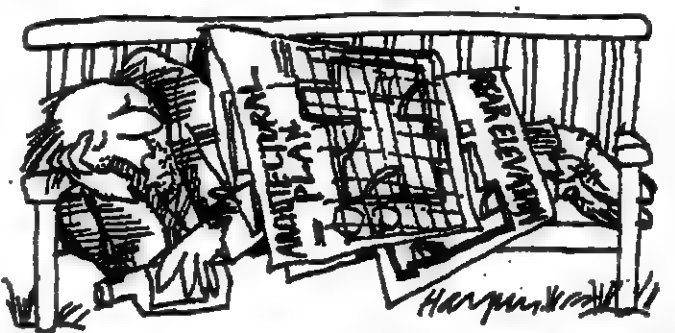
The sad fact is that the actual blame must lie not even on those who promoted the package dealers but the catastrophic housing shortage which faced Scotland in 1944: a shortage of half a million houses.

Putting that into the context of our current achievement of constructing perhaps 7,000 houses per year, it must be seen that the steps taken by government and the building industry to build quickly in the immediate post-war years were successful in terms of quantity — if not quality.

The problem about the current lack of investment is that we could be back to the necessity for a new wave of system-building if more care is not taken of our current stock.

In short, a serious look of Scotland's housing problems would concentrate upon the following:

A five-year plan for housing investment based upon



the current rates of deterioration in Scotland's exceptional climate. The consequent re-investment in the building industry, to ensure that the building industry can meet the demand and build well.

The fact that we, in Britain, spend possibly up to 40 per cent less per housing unit than we do in other countries in Northern Europe: with the inevitable consequence that if we continue to build cheaply in the worst possible climate our buildings are not going to last.

## A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: A disappointing winter, so far, for skiers since the fierce east winds swept haphazard accumulations of powder snow into unlikely places from which it has been rapidly thawing away. For a time, though, before the dreary, foggy days blotted out the fells, it looked as if it might be a good winter for the winter sports and smaller, less frozen over and excellent ice-climbing conditions in some of the gills and gullies. The ice in the crags took me by surprise one recent cold, sunny

day in Dove Dale. I had idly contemplated an ascent of Dove Crag's South Gully — usually a straightforward snow climb — followed by a round of the fells, but what snow I had looked from the tractor to the dam, a narrow, enticing ribbon of snow turned out to be, on close inspection, a hundred yards long tongue of steep greenish-blue ice at least a foot thick. With a companion, I decided to try it. It would have been a demanding ascent although the ice was in perfect condition; alone, it was out of the question. Eventually, the summit was

reached by a scramble to the left of the gully up easy rocks and frozen snow. Several other places in the fells — including frozen waterfalls — yielded good climbing ice before the long, slow thaw set in. The fells were bitterly cold east winds were discouraging. On one of the better days before the fog came down Pier's Gill on Scafell Pike was found by one party to be half a mile of glacial ice. It was an interesting crag route in widely impressive surroundings.

A. HARRY GRIFFIN.

# The ring of uncertainty that surrounds government security



Hugo Young

LORD BRIDGE is the right sort of judge to be a security man. If a judge has to do this work as chairman of the Security Commission, he is the proper successor to Lord Diplock. He spent his formative legal years as the Treasury lawyer, arguing the government's side, day in day out, in every case that came up. He has been an enthusiast for the polygraph or lie-detector at GCHQ, which the Americans (and ministers anxious to appease the Americans) were pushing hard, but which many British experts regard as an offensive waste of time.

In that titanic struggle for every judge's soul — where does he stand between the state's need to shore up its authority and the citizen's need to expand their rights against the state? There has been no reason to place Lord Bridge among that minority of the brethren whose instincts are to resolve the struggle in the citizen's favour.

But this week Lord Bridge has a problem. He has to make a report on telephone-tapping. Wearing his executive hat, he has agreed to make this the fastest such report on record. There was a time when judges hushed by ministers for a quick decision would have told them to jump in the Thames. But Lord Bridge hopes to deliver his report on the phone-tap

ping allegations made in the banned Channel Four film *M15's Official Secrets*, by Wednesday: in time for the second reading of the Interception of Communications Bill.

People have criticised the Bridge inquiry as being inadequate. It won't touch all the film's revelations: the use of the party purposes, the breaking in of the security leader's home, the surveillance of the NCCL. Nor is Lord Bridge being asked to establish definitively whether all the alleged spy food is as it seems. All he's required to do is say whether they were done on a Home Secretary's warrant, properly issued.

Narrow though this is, it possesses major explosive potential. It could play its part, along with the film, in blowing open this element of the state apparatus which, it is becoming increasingly obvious, is under-regulated, inefficiently scrutinised and characterised by much bare-faced lying from both ministers and policemen.

For my verdict, Lord Bridge reaches must raise fundamental questions. Either he will find warrants on the film which indicate that ministers approved of trade unionists and others being tapped. Or he will find no warrants: which will indicate that ministers did not approve of the security services were doing. The one verdict he cannot reach is that no phone-tapping of the kind described went on. He is not asked to make that judgment, nor has he the resources to do so.

Besides, no one in government has so far sought to refute the substance of the film. A feeble and unconvincing effort was made to discredit the chief witness, Ms Cathy Massler. But my own antennae have picked up clear indications that ministers judge the film to be essentially true — which is why they don't want to put Ms Massler or anyone else on trial.

The question about the Bridge report therefore becomes one of publication. The verdict may be inescapably embarrassing — but only if it becomes public knowledge. If the government is to avoid non-publication in this highly sensitive field, the Government may be tempted to grope for a fudging paragraph which somehow manages to conceal what Lord Bridge actually finds behind a delicate assurance that "there has been no improper phone-tapping".

But here the hustling of his Lordship will surely be a different matter. For if this really is the attitude — that all surveillance is acceptable because it has occurred under both governments — we have taken a giant stride towards the unfree society in which government of any colour comes to be totally mistrusted.

Conservatives, in particular, should view this prospect with horror. Yet many evidently don't. Do these slumbers of the overbearing, intrusive State not conform with all they have said about the antiquities of the past 20 years? About getting the State off the backs of the people? Not if you listen to the House of Commons last Thursday, when first Mr Dale Campbell-Savours and then Mr David Steel sought to invest Mr Brittan's announcement of the Bridge inquiry with a proper seriousness, all we heard from the Tory benches was the tribal caravanning of hooligans.

By spending so much time monitoring bodies like CND and the NCCL, which pose no threat to the security of the state, it is bound to neglect its proper duty. In this age of terrorism, M15's legitimate security function has never been more important. The obsessive pursuit of phantom enemies which seems to be its stock-in-trade, makes one wonder how many lives have been lost to the IRA as a result of security services being distracted by other matters.

They seem frightened to break ranks. Doing fealty to their leader, they forget about the led. The Tory party is quite happy to split apart over the rates, and for some reason, refuse to peel to a world beyond party. But when it comes to the freedom not to be tapped, or put on file, or treated as a crypto-Communist, where do we find these tributes of the people?

Yet it is precisely when the state becomes overmighty, and approved as such by successive governments, that the House of Commons should behave as the last defence of essential freedoms: not rallying round the Government but acting in accordance with the stark and horrific realisation that all governments, over a long period, have either tolerated or encouraged a growth in surveillance which Parliament never intended to permit. That realisation, the film, and I guess the Bridge report, now make inescapable.

On Wednesday, assuming the phone-tapping bill goes ahead, three conclusions should bear powerfully on the minds of those who are now for the first time not dependent solely on the Government for the facts whereof they speak.

The first is that M15 must be scandalously inefficient. By spending so much time monitoring bodies like CND and the NCCL, which pose no threat to the security of the state, it is bound to neglect its proper duty. In this age of terrorism, M15's legitimate security function has never been more important. The obsessive pursuit of phantom enemies which seems to be its stock-in-trade, makes one wonder how many lives have been lost to the IRA as a result of security services being distracted by other matters.

Secondly, we now know quite clearly that the safe-guards supposedly offered by the bill will be a charade. Lord Bridge and his col-

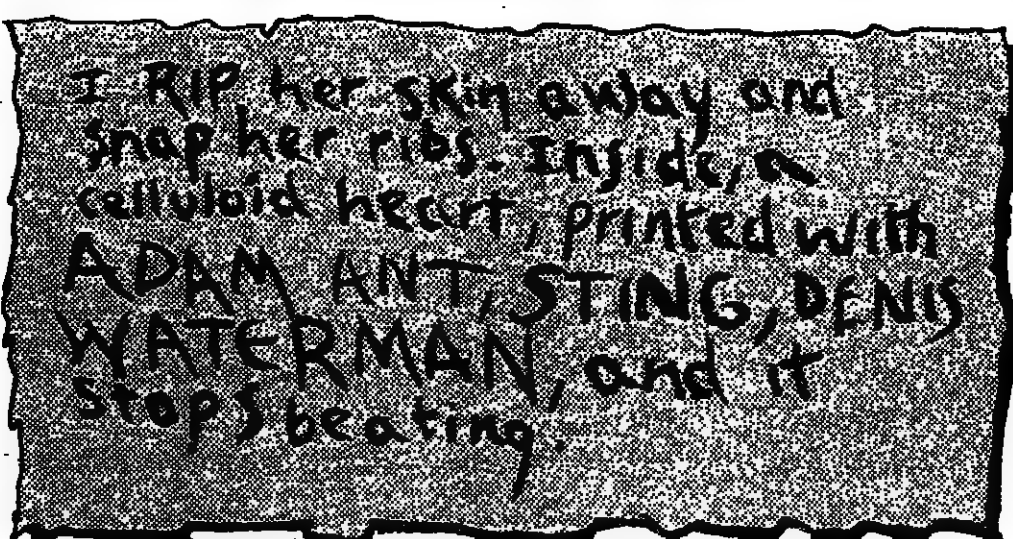
leagues will be able to receive complaints from anyone who thinks their phone is being improperly tapped, or their mail improperly opened. But their verdict can only be the delphic one: "improper" or "being done". This is the preserve only of the definition of propriety is honest and specific. Mr Steel's proposal for a standing committee of privy councillors to oversee the security services, while still not proof against suspicion of a governmental plot, would stand more chance of gaining public confidence than a committee of people who do not even tend to be answerable to the public.

But thirdly, how much and to whom does this issue matter? It is vitally important that strict and scrutinised limits should be placed on state surveillance. Or is such concern a minority sport? A trivial nuisance from the distant Skirres, aberrant in so many ways, when civil liberties were the modish pursuit of an elite which is now discredited?

My fear is that this is just what they are in danger of becoming. Many people, I suspect, do not much care if Mr Syd Hartaway's phone was tapped in 1978. Mr Ken Gill's house been entered to plant a bug, or the NUM and CND are under constant surveillance as actual or potential enemies of the state. This, too, along with the complicity of Labour governments, is something on which the Government will rely to deflect the attacks which should now descend upon it.

Members of Parliament, at least should see the point of puncturing such incipient complacency. Ask not for whom the tap tolls next. Thanks to Ms Cathy Massler and we must hope, Lord Bridge of Harwich, M15 are challenged to retrieve from the domain of pious cliché something called eternal vigilance.





Clippings from *Slow Dazzle* (left), *The Perfume Advert* (above) and *Vogue*

## William Leith looks at the magazines that insult your intelligence, your complacency, and your parents

# Rags against riches

THE BRITISH fanzine (literally "fan magazine") is like the British corner shop: essentially a local phenomenon, cluttered, cramped, small-staffed. Like the archetypal corner shop, fanzines can be full of people airing their half-baked beliefs in semi-private, bitching about their friends, rephrasing the same grievances over and over.

If they're bad, fanzines are nothing more than shabby, semi-literate gossip magazines for the alternative pop music scene. The better ones are faced, though, with the most debilitating of inbuilt problems: their appeal lies in their lack of professionalism. Elegance and slickness are seen as things to be avoided. Some fanzines even get letters complaining that they are too well-produced, too much like real magazines for comfort. The idea is that it's only worth doing if anyone can do it.

What happens, of course, is that anti-style becomes hopelessly stylised itself. To understand fanzines properly you have to be as fast with the sophisticated of a very specific style of protest.

Fanzines are produced throughout Britain, mainly in urban areas where there's enough interest in pop music to constitute a "scene" (Scarborough, for instance, boasts one fanzine, Brighton three or four, Manchester 15 or 20). Sale is by return of post or in specific shops, the best-known and best-stocked of which is the Rough Trade centre in Nottingham Hill. Fanzines cost 20-60p each, and printing costs are high. The economics of it are simple: there's no profit in it.

A rack of fanzines yells at you like a picket-line, with titles like *The End*, *Buy Or Die*, *And A Molotov Cocktail*, *Roar*, *Durix*, even *Kill Your Pet Puppy*. They

are, of course, part of the whole punk package, the literary equivalent of the three-chord song, and like all forms of organised cultural chaos, they have a very short lifespan. Fanzines carry with them a sense of impending doom. Both writer and reader know that every issue might be the last, of course, but there's more doom than that involved.

Fanzines are full of obscene cartoons of Reagan and Thatcher, missile and mushroom-cloud motifs, intimations that we shouldn't expect too much from the world, that things are going to get pretty tough for us humans in the near future. The slogan on the most recent cover of *Vague* reads: "A never-ending party on the quagmire for those that couldn't afford a ticket on the Titanic!"

Stark, smudged xerox copy is often the only medium available for the shoestring-budget fanzine editor, but it's not inappropriate for images of desolation and desperation. And sometimes, desperation is the reason that the fanzine exists: you can often find editorials saying things like, "I thought I wouldn't be doing this again because I thought I'd get a job, but I didn't, so here I am."

The range and quality of fanzine writing varies enormously, encompassing almost everything you could imagine from the utterly hopeless (stuff that scandalises you with its ineptitude, and "compensating" obscenity) through various stages of deliberate incoherence (for example, "Anarchy in the UK" transmogrified into a neutered marriage of prosaic laissez-faire individualism and aseptic self-abnegation) — Simon Reynolds in *Monty Python* to the occasional sharp, finely honed piece of prose

which sparkles all the more against its context.

Many fanzines have pages of little bits and pieces (logans, newspaper clippings, comic-strip cuts) stuck together in a sort of collage, which provides the reader with an opportunity to try to make his own sense out of it. The important thing is that because the people writing are also usually editing, and because the people reading don't seem to mind, the writers can do pretty much what they like. The result can be rather like what happens when you take a series of random unedited photographs, which you achieve moments of accidental brilliance.

Of course, complete editorial freedom has other results too, like relentless egotism, or uncensored boredom. With fanzines, you have to take the scruffiness with the smooth. There can't be very many other places, though

(apart from comics like *Viz*) where you can find jokes which work simply because they are grossly obscene, or articles telling you how to get by without actually buying things, or long essays on anarcho-feminism by people without anything in the way of formal education. Fanzines are an insult to everything: your intelligence, your smug sensibilities, most of all your parents.

On the whole, it is true to say that moments of creativity aside, articles in fanzines are almost all to do with one of two things: the politics of pop music or other fanzines. In the first type of article, it is the writer's duty to "condemn bands for 'selling out' before anyone else can level a similar accusation. Evading the system is the most important thing. The next most important thing is making it clear that the other fanzines are no competition (either too shabby or too conformist).

## Martin Wright reports on the Star ballot that won't take No for an answer

# Hanging judges

NOT TO be outdone by Fleet Street's rigged Bingo, the Daily Star is running a rigged opinion poll: a referendum with no provision for a "No" vote.

Its banner headline on Monday, February 11, was "We've had ENOUGH!" There were photographs of murder victims, and an old lady badly beaten up. Inside were more photographs and case histories. One headline: "My mother's killers run free, implied judicial leniency, but sadly, since the perpetrators have not been caught, leniency or harshness has made little difference."

The series continued similarly. On Tuesday a Tory MP, injured in the Brighton bombing, opposed the death penalty for terrorists (it would play into the IRA's hands), but supported it for professional criminals who kill. This had the misleading headline: "Hang the gunmen: that's the view of a victim of Brighton's bomb blast."

Wednesday's main news story was an appalling case in which an elderly widow was raped and battered. "This is what we mean!" Inside there was also a feature about the high level of violence in Nottingham, where women are afraid to walk alone after dark. Police victims were high-lighted on Thursday.

Finally Home Secretary Leon Brittan wrote in Friday's paper: "We must make our country a safer place to live in." The victim of a notorious rape case was followed to America; her attacker to be mean while, it is said to be "prosperous." The editorial invites "your verdict."

A couple of contrary opinions are included, as a defence against a charge of total one-sidedness. A single case is recalled of a man wrongly convicted of murder who would have been hanged if the death penalty had been in force. Perhaps convinced out of pity, Joe Ashton pointed out that these crimes are not everyday ones, and that if sentences were twice as tough, violent criminals would not disappear.

The Star's campaign will understandably strike a chord in many of its readers. Of course these crimes are atrocious and terrifying — the more so as it is hard for most of us to understand how anyone could bring himself to commit them. It is a disgrace that many women are afraid to go out alone. This is not a plea for leniency; it is a fraction of such violence it would be justified — provided it

As the media's navel-gazing season sets in, Jennifer Manton observes ITV's big Monte Carlo meet...

RELATIONSHIPS between the ITV companies and the advertisers and agencies, always tense, are currently more complex than ever. Ratings are up, so advertisers can reach more people for the same money — but will it last? Better research gives the chance to advertise to specific audiences — but do the companies' rate-cards encourage it? Meanwhile, the advertising agencies are enthusiastically pushing for the BBC to commercialise — the last thing ITV wants.

## Selling the best bargain in a box

Charles Dance in *The Jewel in The Crown*: four of such mega-dramas a year?



though few believe this will last, some found the sales pitch a touch unnecessary.

"The fact of the matter is that most of the media people are very positive about TV," says Nick Horwell, media director of agency FCO. "We don't have to be told that television is the most powerful medium in the world. Although people keep moaning about the price, the fact that money keeps pouring in proves television is still doing well."

Much of the sales pitch was devoted to encouraging more accurate audience targeting when buying television spots. Well-argued cases from Ron

one from the BBC there to put their point of view."

That the ITCA companies were on the defensive in other areas was demonstrated through an excellent interview with David Putnam (it had been pre-recorded on video, illustrating, incidentally, the formidable power of television). Putnam began his predictions about "whether TV drama" by asserting that the high these days came far too infrequently: programmes like *The Jewel in the Crown* should be quarterly rather than yearly drama events.

## Quasimodo rings the right number for Telecom

... and Nicola Lockey sees the Creative Circle hot-shots hand each other their '84 ad awards

LAST week's glittering prizes ceremony for the creative and eccentric purveyors of advertising marked the fortieth year of the Creative Circle. Life, they say, begins at 40. But isn't that also the age of the menopause, a difficult and moody time which heralds the end of creation, or procreation at least? This year's search for creativity certainly left one wondering.

True creativity and originality can probably only be rightly attributed to God. Advertising is somewhat lower down the theological hierarchy, though some of the most powerful agencies would be loath to admit it. "I AM" they proclaim into their champagne glasses, holding forth moral justifications on a question which is at best dubious, at worst superfluous.

Presenters Lenny Bennett and Faith Brown, who brought pure quiz show enthusiasm to the event, could have been excused for reserving judgment on that. Bennett, who claims to have despatched thousands of awards, said these were "bizarre" and "terribly ineptuous."

Yes, he agreed, the egotism was analogous to that of a group of actors, but with a higher casualty rate in advertising than in showbiz. Resplendent in hot pink satin, Ms Brown wore her palms thin leading the reluctant applause.

Those whose business it is to pursue creativity were surprised that the lion's share of gold awards went to advertiser Bass's recent announcement that it intends to spend no more than £50,000 per commercial in future.

Whitbread, which sponsored one award, has made financial and philosophical commitments to creativity by, in the words of marketing director George Riddiford, "forming strong links with what we believe to be the most creative agencies in town (this year's heroes Lowe

### IT'S YOUR VERDICT

I believe that capital punishment should be brought back for the following categories of:

- murder: ☐ Children ☐ Police ☐ Terrorism ☐ All murders ☐
- Life sentences for serious crimes like murder and rape should carry a minimum term of: ☐ 20 years ☐ 25 years ☐
- The prosecution should have the right of appeal against sentences they consider to be too lenient ☐

★ Tick boxes of those statements you agree with, then post the coupon to: VIOLENT BRITAIN, Daily Star, 33 St. Bride St., London EC4A 3AY.



One of the award-winning magazine ads for Levi

announcement that its input is being reviewed by BT.

It is nice to find that BT's advertising was not hindered by widespread anxiety over production budgets and national economic pressure, as was the Solid Fuel Advisory Service which won for Best Director and Best Use of Production Budget over £100,000. Especially in the light of beer advertiser Bass's recent announcement that it intends to spend no more than £50,000 per commercial in future.

Whitbread, which sponsored one award, has made financial and philosophical commitments to creativity by, in the words of marketing director George Riddiford, "forming strong links with what we believe to be the most creative agencies in town (this year's heroes Lowe

Howard-Spink and Bartle Bogle Hegarty), and fostering some of the most creative advertising." And the company is unlikely to take such a radical step as its competitor Bass.

It is an expensive business making commercials. For the price of renting a studio and technicians for one day an average person could buy a commercial. Today's sophisticated consumers cannot be subjected to reduced values, it is argued; research shows they are quick to spot the joins.

Meanwhile advertisers' commitment to these values has given British commercials a world recognised dominance with our directors and facilities increasingly in demand by European and American agencies, bringing

added growth to the £132 million marketplace of home commercials production.

Creative dominance within our own industry is changing hands, according to these awards. Saatchi and Saatchi and CDP were eclipsed by the new young agencies Lowe Howard-Spink and Bartle Bogle Hegarty who are putting life back into the business in more ways than one. Their success is in blending solid advertising expertise with careful fostering of new talent, rejecting old school elitism.

Advertising is supposed to be a young business, but unemployment and agency start-up costs make it look less so now than ever.

The Creative Circle is committed to giving opportunities

to young people, and has achieved much with its Student Awards and job sponsorships. This concern was reflected in its President's Award to Masius's Sam Rothenstein (who retires next year) for "her dedication and devotion to the encouragement of new creative talent."

Even so, grey hairs bristled in the barn-like medieval splendour of The Brewery when Chris Palmer, a young man with a plait half way down his back — collected Whitbread's Most Promising Beginner award for his work for Bartle Bogle on the Levi's advertisement. Inevitably there is a certain tension when tyros in their twenties rub shoulders with advertising veterans in their thirties.

Picked as Campaign's Agency of the Year for 1984, J. Walter Thompson is making a comeback, much to the surprise of some of its longer standing staff who say it's been the same for the past decade. The agency was responsible for the multi-award winning Polo advertising, a brilliant example of capitalising on your USP (unique selling point), art directed by young Tom Moul, son of Ted.

It was at JWT that another winner cut his teeth — 23-year-old East Ender Alex Ayuli, who is one of less than a dozen blacks in the business.

It's refreshing to see the advertising industry spreading its net in the tawdry for talent. The growing group of women in advertising picked up almost half the gold awards. JWT's successful team, Sandra Leamon and Annie Carlton, won more awards for their Persil posters. Director Anna Hart won Best Use of Videotape, Animation, and Computer Graphics for Hamlet's manipulation of the Channel 4 logo.

## Media File....

FIFTEEN days to the Budget, and the fight against VAT goes on. In truth, there is a growing sense in the publishing business that the lobbying against sticking the tax on the print media has already won through — but that's what the pension people seem to think too, and Nigel's got to get the cash from somewhere. So, chickens are not being counted.

MPs, on the other hand, are. By the end of last week, there were no fewer than four early day motions in the Commons, inviting opposition to the imposition of VAT on regional and local newspapers, and half the backbenchers had signed up. They couldn't bring themselves to unite behind the same one, of course, but one way and another 150 Opposition and more than a hundred Tory backbenchers have declared themselves.

Mr Lawson must have got the message. Ex-ministers like Geoffrey Rippon and Gerard Vaughan, and Nicholas Fairbairn may invite the dry scorn of the present regime, and ex-media stars like Tim Brinton may not carry much weight — but Brinton's signature as chairman of the Tory backbenchers' media committee is lined up with those of seven other such chairmen, including George Galloway, European Affairs and Peter Blaker of Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. Any move to impose VAT now would surely give the Finance Bill a distressing number of late night sittings for little return.

One strand in the pro-VAT argument got a knock from the select committee on the Treasury and Civil Service, which looked at the idea that European harmonisation demanded an end to zero rating, and concluded last week that it lacked merit. Meanwhile, it seems reasonable to suspect that the Treasury mandarins will take until well past Budget Day to fathom out the reasoning of one set of supplicants: the publishers of free newspapers and magazines have to argue against the idea that a national price could be placed on their wares in order that VAT be calculated on it. Not Fair! they cry. Rightly.

But perhaps they could have phrased it more delicately: "It would be inequitable to place a value added tax on an item which had no monetary value to the recipients — i.e. the recipient would not pay money to receive it."

THE PIRATES of the Far East find their buccaneering ways severely threatened by last week's Singapore High Court judgement. The piracy covered by our 1911 Copyright Act have similar protection in Singapore — a major centre of illicit copying. The music industry alone, according to the International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers, loses as much as 180 million dollars through Singapore's rip-off cassettes.

The IFPI sees the new judgement, following British publishers' action against a bookseller, as a major breakthrough, and is looking for a new and tougher law as a follow-up. "The beginning of the end for the pirates in the IFPI anti-piracy director James Wolsey sees it. With US copyright-owners helped too, if they have published in Canada, Britain allied territories within 14 days of its publication, a new concerted campaign of raids on pirate material of all kinds — computer software being the latest pirate booty — is on the horizon.

PARADISE POSTPONED, an original 12-part television epic of the non-progress of post-war Britain, as envisioned by the wry eye of John Mortimer, starts filming today. Lavishly cast — Michael Hordern, Colin Blakely, Annette Crosbie, Jill Bennett, you name them — and directed start-to-finish by Alvin Rakoff, it won't be off location until October, and will run on screens until one year hence, minimum, and I would not have mentioned it yet, except that Thames Television's Bryan Cowgill hosted a party for cast and press on Friday to celebrate the start.

If such celebrations are a trend, Cowgill is already a laggard. On Wednesday, Zenith Productions — the Charles Denton-Margaret Matheson spin-off from Central — and Silver Chalice Productions host a clubland affair to announce that their four-hour mini-series *Indira Gandhi*, A Tryst With Destiny, is not even in production, but merely pre-production. This morning's post, I doubt not, will bring an invite to toast some chap whom you just got this sooper idea.

Thames, meanwhile, have had a really good one. Some of the cast on *Paradise Postponed* are not even needed until the autumn, but last Tuesday and Wednesday Al Rakoff was able to bring them all together for a read-through of Mortimer's entire village-life cliff-hanger. The players, accustomed to being brought in just to do their bits, seem to have found it a unique and illuminating experience. Just don't ask how the plot ends.

Peter Fiddick  
Media editor



## NEW DIRECTIONS



## IN PROGRAMME EXCELLENCE

Channel 4 continues to set high standards in British broadcasting. By establishing a distinctive style and a selective programming policy, we are enlarging the choice available to the country's viewers.

## COMMISSIONING EDITOR

**Educational Programmes** Ref NS/2  
£25,000  
Channel 4's educational brief is a wide one, involving out-of-school education and the provision of a broad range of opportunities for adults. Within an allocated budget, the Commissioning Editor will agree general policy, commission programmes and ensure that high-quality educational programmes are seen on Channel 4. A sound understanding of educational and audience needs is required and production-based experience within TV, video or film would be helpful. The appointment will be on a fixed-term contract of three years.

## ASSISTANT EDITORS

**Educational Programmes** Ref NS/4  
£19,000  
Assistant Editors are needed in a number of areas to assist Commissioning Editors in the commissioning, production and administration of programmes. The work involves considering programme proposals, preparing TV Times listings and transmission details and dealing with productions. Experience with film and/or video is desired in all four posts. Two year fixed-term contracts are offered.

## Assistant Editor

**Independent Film & Video** Ref AF/3  
This area includes the diverse output of the "Eleventh Hour" slot, film and video workshops which are funded by Channel 4 and community programmes.

## Assistant Editor

**Documentaries** Ref CH/3  
Work in this area covers both single documentaries and documentary series. A research background would be useful, particularly in one or more of the following areas: social history, international politics, environment, health.

## Assistant Editor

**Light Entertainment** Ref MB/3  
A challenging role for someone with new ideas to assist the Senior Commissioning Editor and liaise with production companies.

## Assistant Editor

**Educational Programmes** Ref NS/4  
From computing to programmes for the over sixties... the range is vast. Good knowledge of the educational system is essential.

Please apply in writing only quoting the appropriate reference and including a detailed CV with current salary particulars to the Personnel Department, Channel 4 Television Co. Ltd., 60 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2AX. Applications to be received by Monday 18th March.



CHANNEL FOUR TELEVISION

## Editorial

## Opportunities in scientific educational publishing/exhibition

...Scientific Editor to be responsible for the Bulletin, consisting of four scientific series (Botany, Entomology, Geology and Zoology); a Historical Series; a "Specialist" series and "occasional" publications. You must have at least 3 years editorial experience in educational publishing and should preferably have a degree in Natural Sciences. Sound knowledge of production methods desirable. Appointment as Information Officer, British Museum (Natural History), London.

...Editor to liaise closely with biologists and designers transforming biological information into ideas for exhibits. You will be making sure that all exhibition labels, texts, commentaries and associated publications are written in simple, attractive, everyday language, as well as working up and proof-reading. You must have a degree, preferably with 1st or 2nd class honours, in biological science, and a genuine interest in communicating scientific ideas. Good editorial experience advantageous. Appointment as Assistant Information Officer, British Museum (Natural History), London.

## Press/Publicity

## Safeguarding the national interest in telecommunications

...You will be joining a new organization "OFTEL" with the task of safeguarding national and consumer interests in the telecommunications industry (including British Telecom). There is a high media profile and a need to be responsive and promotional. This is a good opportunity to develop your skills in a sensitive area. You must have sound experience in press relations and promotional work, ability to write clearly and effectively. Experience of explaining technical, legal and consumer issues advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London ECL.

## Helping British Exports

...This is an opportunity to join a small busy team responsible for promoting the vital export activities of the British Overseas Trade Board. This is a crucial press role and involves writing on a range of trade and technical subjects. You may also attend seminars, conferences and trade events throughout the UK and, occasionally, abroad. Proven experience of press work and ability to write effectively on a range of topics essential. Experience in creating and using audio-visual publicity advantageous. Appointment as Information Officer, Department of Trade and Industry, London.

## Exhibitions

## A major development in scientific exhibitions

...The Museum has taken a fresh and innovative approach to exhibiting its world renowned collections of animals, plants and minerals. This is a creative opportunity to assist with on-site supervision of installing the new exhibitions. You will maintain existing displays at the South Kensington and "Ving Museums" fabricate new graphics and displays; check public galleries and assist with the design of temporary exhibitions. Practical experience and proven competence of relevant display work is essential. You should normally have general ability in the preparation of artwork; graphic production; working drawings or model making. Some strength on the graphics side may be advantageous. Appointment as Assistant Information Officer, British Museum (Natural History), London.

Similar vacancies may arise in these and other departments.

SALARY: As Information Officer: £5790 - £12025. As Assistant Information Officer: £6025 - £5790. Starting salary may be above the minimum. Promotion prospects.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 21 March 1985) write to Civil Service Commission, Alconia Link, Basingstoke, Hants RG21 1JB, or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 465551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote ref: G(2)434/L.

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MANCHESTER 061-632 7200

## AN EXCITING OPPORTUNITY IN INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL

With offices in 36 countries, we are the world's largest organisation in the field of educational travel. Because of recent expansion, we have created a new position in our Santa Barbara office, the California headquarters of our U.S. operations.

The job primarily involves the writing of texts for travel brochures, guidebooks and corporate presentations. This entails close co-operation with colleagues in the marketing, sales and operational departments.

We are looking for somebody with a fluent writing style, an eye for technical detail, and the ability to present ideas clearly and logically. (copywriting experience is not a requirement, however.) A comprehensive knowledge of Western Europe is necessary and experience of the American way of life would be a distinct advantage. The successful applicant will probably have graduated within the last seven years, and will be available at short notice.

Conditions of employment are excellent, and a salary of \$20-30,000 p.a. is offered, according to age and experience. Applications in writing should be addressed to:

**ef** Anne Anthony  
EF Cultural Tours  
1 Fernan Street  
Hove Sussex BN3 1AL

Chief Executives Department  
Promotion and Community Relations Unit

It has been decided to strengthen the present centralised Promotions, Press and Public Relations service and to bring together resources from various service departments throughout the Authority. The Promotion section of the Unit covers the area of promotion, marketing, graphic design and photography.

Assistant Promotions/  
Marketing Manager

£14,013 - £15,042

To be responsible to the Marketing Manager, to assist in the general promotion of the City and particularly the activities and events organised by the Recreation and Community Services Department's Officers, ensuring a corporate approach to promotional material. To liaise with advertising agencies and other outside organisations. Applicants will be graduates with at least five years experience in a marketing/promotional environment. Quote Reference 13/006.

Candidates may obtain application forms (returnable by 22nd March, 1985) and further particulars from Personnel Section, Chief Executive's Department, Council House, Birmingham, B1 1BB. Conveyancing will disqualify. An Equal Opportunities Employer.

## BIRMINGHAM CITY COUNCIL

## MARKETING &amp; PROMOTIONS MANAGER

WINDERMERE

**£14,355-£16,065**  
This challenging position, based in Windermere in the Lake District, offers the opportunity to advance in the field of tourism, promoting one of the most popular areas of the UK.

Your main responsibility will be to the Board's Director for the development and implementation, of a detailed marketing, information and press programme.

Other major responsibilities will include the giving of marketing expertise and advice to the Board's members; good media relations; and effectively supporting the tourist information network.

Educated to degree level, you will have wide marketing and promotional experience, preferably in the tourism industry and relevant professional qualifications. An understanding of languages (French or German) would be desirable.

Essential user car allowance attached to this post.

Further details and application form, returnable 22.3.85, from A. Fraser, M.A., Secretary, Cumbria Tourist Board, The Courts, Carlisle, Cumbria CA3 8LZ. Tel. Carlisle 23455. Ext 240215.



## CHALLENGING JOBS IN PRINT

## PRODUCTION CO-ORDINATOR

We require an energetic person to be responsible for the co-ordination of all pre-press assembly work. To assist in the job of co-ordination, on the job training can be given in design, camera work and platemaking. Some experience and an interest in print is essential.

## FINANCE CO-ORDINATOR

We urgently require a finance co-ordinator to be responsible for estimating, the charging of completed jobs as well as the overall financial control of the company. A background in print and/or accountancy would be an advantage. A background in print and/or accountancy would be an advantage. Some on the job training can be given.

Applications in writing with full C.V. to: Blackrose Press, 30 Chesham Close, London EC1R 6AT.  
Blackrose Press is a workers' co-operative and as part of our Equal Opportunities Policy, applications are welcome from people regardless of race, creed, nationality or responsibility for children or dependants.

## SPEAK AMERICAN?

Publisher is looking for individuals with backgrounds in Cookery, Crafts, Medicine, DIY and some experience of editing, writing or researching.

We can offer employment for approximately two years. Please write enclosing cv to:

A. Carroll  
DORLING KINDERSLEY LTD  
1-2 Henrietta Street  
London WC2E 8PS

## SALES PERSON

## required to sell

## VIDEO TAPE &amp; VIDEO DISC

## PRODUCTION SERVICES

Imagination, flair and experience essential.

Write with CV to sell yourself to: Dick Fletcher, New Media Productions, 79 Parkway, London W1P 7PP.

## ARE YOU TRAINED IN VIEWDATA?

If so, we need you. We are a fast-growing information provider and Viewdata Consultancy in the West End of London.

Send full cv to: Maurice Mundy, VMS, 145 Oxford Street, London W1R 1TB.

## THE ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS.

FILM UNIT  
PRODUCTION CO-ORDINATOR

(PERMANENT STAFF)

To assist generally in production of natural history films including budgetary control, supervision of contracts and royalty payments, distribution, etc.

Sound practical knowledge of birds and natural history essential, plus previous experience in a documentary film unit. Ability to write outline treatments, shooting scripts and commentaries a distinct advantage.

Age range 25-45.

Salary in range £8,850-£10,680; starting point dependent on qualifications and experience.

## SOUND RECORDIST

(2-YEAR CONTRACT)

Experienced Film Sound Recordist required with particular interest in recording bird song.

Salary in range £10,000-£12,515 according to qualifications and experience.

Application forms and details (enclose a.s.a.) from Personnel, RSPB, The Lodge Sandy, Beds.

## EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

London-based weekly general-interest magazine for women requires an Editorial Assistant experienced in home and cookery subjects, to start April 1. Applicants must be able to sub-edit and do layouts. Salary negotiable. Please write with details of previous experience to:

The Editor, The Lady,  
25-26 Bedford Street, Strand, London WC2 3ER

## STUDIO ENGINEER

Salary Scale 45: £8,854 to £7,886.

The person appointed will be responsible for the efficient running of the studio and the maintenance of studio equipment. The person should be able to record, mixdown, edit and be familiar with different studio techniques. A thorough understanding of black music is necessary.

Closing date: 13th March 1985.

Interviews will be held 22nd and 23rd March. For enquiries write or telephone Mr. L. Davies, Association of Black Musicians and Artists, 100 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ.

Garvey Centre, London Boulevard, Nottingham, NG3 6PL. Tel: 0602-752000.

## CRUCIBLE THEATRE-SHEFFIELD

## DIRECTOR OF TIE

responsible to Mike Kay, the Associate Director of the Crucible who is developing the work of Vanguard on TIE and Community Touring Company.

The appointment is to commence in April 1985. Salary by negotiation. Please apply in writing with full CV to: Mike Kay, Associate Director, Crucible Theatre, 100 Garsington Road, Nottingham, NG3 6PL. Tel: 0602-752000.

GLC  
Working for London

## Press Office Team Leaders

Two senior press officers, each with considerable experience of local government and press work, are required to lead professional teams responsible for maintaining press relations in key areas of the Council's activities:

— Industry & Employment, Training Board and Housing  
— Public Services, Arts & Recreation, Ethnic Minorities and Women's Issues

Both Team Leaders work closely with Committee chairs and senior officers — advising on publicity opportunities and implications, guiding their teams and carrying specific personal responsibility for press relations matters for one or more Committees.

First rate liaison and drafting skills are needed, together with a sound understanding of the Council's publicity needs. Experience of industrial reporting is essential for the Team Leader concerned with Industry and Employment.

Salaries: £14,781-£16,545 inclusive. Ref: 5510.1.

## Press Officer

## Industry &amp; Employment and Greater London Training Board

An experienced journalist or public relations officer, with a sound understanding of the Council's publicity needs, is needed to take direct responsibility for all press matters relating to the work of the I & E committees and the GLTB. Experience of industrial reporting is required.

Salary: £13,065-£14,781 inclusive. Ref: 5509.

## Publicity Officer

## Industry &amp; Employment

To be responsible for writing and editing the Council's internal monthly newspaper, "Abolition and You" — providing staff with information on the key issues and space to air their own views on workplace problems.

A sound background in journalism, copy editing and editorial layout is needed, together with the ability to meet deadlines and liaise effectively with people at all levels. Some knowledge of local government issues, particularly related to rate capping and abolition, is essential.

Salary: £13,065-£14,781 inclusive. Ref: 5506.

The GLC is an equal opportunities employer. We invite applications from women and men from all sections of the community, irrespective of their ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation or disability, who have the necessary attributes to do the job.

For an application form, to be returned by 22nd March 1985, write to: GLC Director General's Department, Room 203, The County Hall, SE1 7PB or telephone 01-533 2790.

These posts are suitable for job sharing

## PUBLICITY ASSISTANT

Salary range: £7,178 - £8,568 p.a.

A young person is required to work in the busy Publicity Unit at the Halifax Building Society's headquarters in Halifax, West Yorkshire.

The selected candidate will join a team of professional writers and report directly to the Publicity Manager.

Duties will involve researching, interviewing, writing and proof-reading — generally helping to produce a wide range of promotional literature, including in-house magazines and newspapers.

The position offers plenty of scope for anyone wishing to develop a career in the field of publicity and consumer PR in a marketing environment.

Candidates should have at least two years' experience of proof-reading since the successful applicant will be expected to give assistance in this area right from the word go. A degree in English is also desirable. The position will probably suit someone in the age range of 20 - 25.

Ability to work well under pressure and under own initiative will certainly be an asset.

The appointment offers a progressive salary, together with a contributory pension scheme, Group Life Assurance, BUPA and staff mortgage scheme.

Write now giving educational and career details in date to the General Manager (Staff).

Halifax Building Society, PO Box 60, Trinity Road, Halifax, West Yorkshire, HX1 2RG

## HALIFAX BUILDING SOCIETY

An equal opportunity employer

Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd  
Her Majesty's Printers

## Graphic Designer/Typographer

We are looking for someone to head a small design department, handling a growing 'design + print' turnover with a very wide variety of work. We have two factories, and extensive computer organisation, in addition to print and bind, facilities. Knowledge of — and interest in — how a design is best produced is obviously essential. The conditions are good. Salary negotiable. Write in the first instance to Christopher Bradshaw F.A.B., 2 Sergeants' Inn London EC4Y 1LU.

For further information and an application form, please contact Ms J. Balfour, 14 Prince's Gate, Hyde Park, London, SW7 1PU. (Tel: 01-581 3332 ext. 219).

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF GENERAL PRACTITIONERS  
requires an  
EXPERIENCED SALES PERSON

to sell College medical record cards, publications and a variety of other goods, both by post and over the counter.

The successful candidate will be medical, meticulous, good-humoured, able to work under pressure, and have a flexible approach to working hours. An ability to type is a necessary requirement. The post is answerable to the Head of the Information Service.

Salary £8,700-£9,000 (incl.)

For further information and an application form, please contact Ms J. Balfour, 14 Prince's Gate, Hyde Park, London, SW7 1PU. (Tel: 01-581 3332 ext. 219).

## EDITOR

## ARTISTS NEWSLETTER

Part-time (6 hours a week), to work with two others in the editorial office on the national magazine. Must be interested in visual arts, crafts & photography.

For 0400 724 6100. Article deadline: 15th March 1985.

For 0400 724 6100. Article deadline: 15th March 1985.

For 0400 724 6100. Article deadline: 15th March 1985.

For 0400 724 6100. Article deadline: 15th March 1985.

## PR CONSULTANCY

## ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE

familiar with London's Jewish community, with proven writing and communication skills.

Contact Walker Nelson on 01-727 6404

150-160



**BBC**

Television Features Bristol contributes to BBC 1 and 2 a wide and varied range of programmes. To sustain our output, we need innovative ideas from across all areas of programme making.

Contract opportunities exist, for varying periods, in the Unit at both the Assistant Producer and Researcher level.

**ASSISTANT PRODUCERS**

£9,348 — £12,660  
Plus allowance of £916 p.a.

Applicants should be resourceful and imaginative programme makers who are qualified to degree level or equivalent and already have experience in broadcast television production. Successful candidates must expect to work on film and electronic output, both on location and in the studio. Initially however, the majority of time will be spent working in film. (Ref. 1129/GU)

**RESEARCHERS**

£7,699 — £9,552

Applicants should be qualified to degree level or equivalent and have undertaken research work for successful television and film projects. Successful candidates must expect to work, over a period of time, on all aspects of the Unit's output. (Ref. 1130/GU)

**FREELANCE TELEVISION PRESENTATION ANNOUNCER**

Newcastle

£10,750 — £14,559

BBC Newcastle produces a nightly news magazine and twice weekly feature programmes. We are looking for a Presenter who will be required to write and read announcements and promotion material for these programmes and to read news bulletins. May also be required to contribute items to the nightly news programme and will also operate a continuity console. An effective microphone voice and the ability to write good linking material are essential, together with the ability to work under pressure. A journalistic or theatrical background is desirable. (Ref. 1136/GU)

Radio Times

**ART ASSISTANT**

London West End

c. £8,000

Plus 4% shift allowance

To join a team responsible for the preparation of artwork and layouts for specific programme or feature pages in the Radio Times. A BA in Graphic Design or equivalent is essential. Previous experience as a layout artist, preferably on a magazine, would be an advantage. Completed application forms must be returned by Friday, March 15th. (Ref. 2109/GU)

Salaries currently under review. Relocation expenses considered for permanent posts. Contact us immediately for application form (quote ref. and enclose s.a.e.): BBC Appointments, London W1A 1AA. Tel. 01-927 5799.

We are an equal opportunities employer

**Advertising Assistant for campaign planning**

London Up to £9,792

The Central Office of Information wishes to strengthen the small team which plans and implements government advertising campaigns for its Home Publishing Group.

Joining as Assistant Information Officer you will keep a detailed progress check on advertising material, assess and — where necessary — query media cost schedules, and possibly run local area campaigns, assessing results and implementing effective budgetary control. You will of course be closely involved with advertising agencies and with the information branches of government departments.

To be considered, you should preferably have experience of working in an advertising agency or in the advertising or marketing sections of a client company, and have a sound knowledge of account planning procedures and media. Experience of handling government or public sector advertising would be an advantage as would be an understanding of research. You will need to be able to work within a computerised management accounting system.

Starting salary: within the range £7,317 — £9,792 according to experience and qualifications. There will be prospects for promotion. Benefits include 22 days annual holiday.

For an application form please send a postcard to the Central Office of Information, Room 152, Atlantic House, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1A 3PD, quoting Competition Number 219/NC/85. The closing date for returned forms: 26 March 1985.

The Civil Service is an Equal Opportunities Employer

**medeconomics**

the financial and business monthly for GPs has a vacancy for a first class

**JOURNALIST**

The successful applicant will have experience in magazines or newspapers, a flair for detailed research, excellent writing skills and an ability to make complicated material accessible to a busy, professional readership.

The job will consist primarily of feature writing but candidates must demonstrate all round journalistic skills including sub-editing and headline writing. There may be the opportunity for the right person to take a part of some responsibility on the magazine.

Experience in medical and/or business journalism is desirable but not essential. We are looking for a journalist with a proven interest in these fields, who can develop and maintain a wide range of relevant contacts.

Salary will depend upon experience

Applicants should send a CV and covering letter to: Marion Downey, Editor, Medeconomics, 30 Lancaster Gate, London W2 3LP

**COMPUTER SYSTEMS**

the leading UK journal for the computer professional needs an

**Editorial Assistant**

The successful candidate is likely to have a degree in computing, engineering or a related field, as well as a good command of English. He or she will be involved in all aspects of writing and producing this leading monthly magazine for the computer systems industry.

The successful applicant can expect full training in journalistic and magazine production skills. A basic grasp of the subject is desirable but not essential. A competitive salary will be offered, together with a generous benefits package. For further information write, giving details of education and any relevant experience, to: Rob Farmer, Editor, Computer Systems, Testers Publishing, Walton House, 53 High Street, Bromley, Kent, or telephone 01-280 8866.

**LIVERPOOL PLAYHOUSE****PUBLICITY OFFICER**

To take overall responsibility for the major theatre's publicity and marketing policy. Energy, imagination and previous publicity/marketing experience are essential. For further details please write to: Liverpool 151, Tel. 0151-261 8471. Playhouse, 151-153, Liverpool 151. Previous applicants will automatically be considered for this post. Closing date for applications: 22nd March, 1985.

**The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty****Publications Manager**

The National Trust is seeking an experienced manager to be responsible for its publications. Reporting to the Director of Public Relations, the job holder advises on publication policy and is responsible for its implementation. The maintenance of high quality and standards are particularly important. The main fields of responsibility are:

1. Publishing and editing the National Trust Magazine;
2. Producing in-house literature, including guide books and other material for the information of members and the public;
3. Contributing to a book publishing programme in conjunction with established publishers.

Candidates should be graduates, aged about 40, with extensive relevant experience and a sympathy and understanding for the ideals of the National Trust.

Salary c. £15,000.

Please write, enclosing c.v. to:

Margaret Harris,  
Personnel Assistant,  
The National Trust,  
36 Queen Anne's Gate,  
London, SW1H 9AS.

Closing date: 25 March 1985.

**HUMBERSIDE COUNTY COUNCIL EDUCATION COMMITTEE****Hull Division Adult Education Service COMMUNITY ARTS PROJECT****Professional Director and 2 Community Art Workers**

Salary: Professional Director — Further Education Lecturer II Community Arts Workers — 80% Further Education Lecturer II

Applications are invited from well qualified candidates for a position in this Community Arts Project, serving a large urban area in North Humberside. Applicants for the posts must have training and experience in a selection of the following arts areas: fine arts, graphics, photography, film, video, drama, dance. It is expected that the Director will have proven experience in Community Arts as well as managerial and teaching experience.

All appointments are for 11 months in the first instance and will be made subject to the final approval of the Project.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Divisional Principal, Hull Adult Education Service, Adult Education Office, Drove Park Road, Hull HU8 8DV. Telephone Hull 855184. The closing date for application is 10 days after this advertisement.

All applicants are considered on the basis of their suitability for the job irrespective of disability, race, creed, sex, or marital status. Disabled candidates whose applications have the written support of their DRO will be guaranteed an interview.

**GRADUATES!****LOOKING FOR YOUR FIRST JOB?**

For lots of immediate vacancies plus advice and information on job hunting you need *Graduates* every fortnight — the only newspaper specifically for you.

For a year's subscription (24 issues) just send a cheque for £12.00 or for 6 months (12 issues) £7.00, or write for subscription form and sample back issue to: The New Opportunity Press Ltd., Dept. G, 78 St. James' Lane, London W10 3PD. Telephone: 01-444 7281. Cheques payable to The New Opportunity Press Ltd.

**BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER**

(Salary £12,398 — £21,211 p.a. if social work qualified or £14,265 — £22,860)

BASW has created a new post of Public Relations Officer to join its professional staff group. We have recently re-organised our staffing arrangements with the aim of demonstrating much more clearly BASW's crucial contribution to policy-making and standards of professional social work practice. This is an exciting time for the Association and we have created this post to ensure greater awareness of BASW among social workers, managers, policy-makers and the general public. If you have:

substantial public relations and/or journalistic experience, experience or knowledge of the personal social services, the personality for an active rather than a reactive approach to public relations

Please phone John Cypher, General Secretary on 021-622 3911 for informal discussion. The post, which is for an initial 2-year period with the possibility of renewal, can be either London or Birmingham-based but with travel between the two offices. If London-based, London weighting will apply. BASW operates a contributory pension scheme and leave, travel and subsistence provisions are all related to those applying to local government staff. Closing date 15 March 1985.

**BASW****RESEARCHER/REPORT WRITER**

The British Safety Council—

a registered charity and the largest industrial safety organisation in Britain with in excess of 25,000 companies in membership — is seeking a graduate with proven research and report writing skills.

The successful applicant — ideally in his/her 20s — will be responsible for telephone contact with members to ascertain their evaluation of the Council's services; research into their needs and into areas which the Council could usefully exploit; and the presentation of reports in informative but crisp form with recommendations by the writer.

The successful candidate will certainly have a pleasant yet persuasive telephone manner — a warm personality that will extend along the telephone line; an investigative mind and accurate note-taking and typewriting skills.

Salary will be by negotiation according to skills. Sell yourself to us by writing fully with CV and details of posts held to date. David Moore, Marketing Manager, British Safety Council, 62/64 Chancellor's Road, London W6 9RS.

**GENERAL MANAGER**

Since 1982 Brookside Productions has established itself as a company on Merseyside employing 100 people, producing the twice-weekly drama series "BROOKSIDE" for Channel 4, with an audience of 6 million.

The Company is now looking for a suitable person to act as General Manager, reporting directly to the Board of Directors. The successful applicant will preferably have experience in television production with an awareness of issues facing independent television companies. The qualities required include the ability to communicate clearly and motivate a highly intelligent and committed staff, while managing resources to allow the achievement of creative goals within tight budgetary guidelines. This is an exciting and demanding position with attractive salary and conditions.

Please apply in writing, with full c.v. to:

The Chairman  
Brookside Productions Limited  
49 Brookside, West Derby, Liverpool L12 8BA  
WE ARE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES EMPLOYER

**PRESS OFFICER**

The Association of London Authorities wish to appoint an experienced Press Officer. We are seeking someone to build upon the success the Association has already achieved in promoting the policies of its members to the news media. This challenging position calls for a dynamic individual preferably with experience or knowledge of the Local Government scene. Editorial and production skills would be an advantage.

SALARY UP TO £14,874

Application forms are available from:

CAROLINE STRAILLEN,  
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER,  
THE ASSOCIATION OF LONDON AUTHORITIES,  
ROOM 692, COUNTY HALL, SE1 7PB

Completed forms are to be returned by March 15th 1985.

The Association of London Authorities is an equal opportunities employer and welcomes applications from persons regardless of race, sex or disability.

Association of London Authorities **A.L.A.**

**U.K. TRADE SALES MANAGER****SPECIALIST PUBLISHING**

After a lengthy period of major expansion, Graham & Trotman are taking on a U.K. Trade Sales Manager. This is an interesting new opportunity for a person with two-four years experience in book representation or book-selling.

The Manager will be totally responsible for all U.K. Trade Sales. He/she will visit all major sales outlets within the U.K. and there will also be some college, library and institutional calling. Up to 50% of the time will be spent travelling. Graham & Trotman's list cover the Earth Sciences, Oil & Gas Technology, Other Technical Lists and Business, Finance and Legal Publications. In addition the manager will be involved with an important range of business management titles from the American Management Association.

The post will suit a hard-working and well-organised person in their mid 20s who wishes to make a career advancement. In view of the specialist nature of the list, a graduate is preferred. Salary is negotiable depending on experience, and a car is provided. Full details of your academic qualifications and career to date should be sent to: Ian Pulley, Marketing Director, Graham & Trotman Limited, 66 Wilton Road, London SW1V 1DE.

**PERSONNEL EXECUTIVE****Deputy Editor**

Personnel Executive has earned a high reputation for providing lively and authoritative coverage of all aspects of personnel and training to a knowledgeable and largely senior management readership.

We seek a journalist with a good general knowledge of personnel combined ideally with expertise in one or more facets of personnel, training or employment.

You would join a small team of professionals — researching and writing news and feature material, and assisting with aspects of editorial production. Long term prospects within the AGB group of publishing companies are excellent.

Please write, giving succinct details of relevant qualifications, knowledge and experience, to: Philip Schofield, Editor, Personnel Executive, AGB Business Publications, Audit House, Field End Road, Enniscorthy, Wiltshire BA4 5LT.

**Classified Sales Manager**

The Manchester Evening News, lively, successful, and with a trend-beating growth in daily sales, covers a market 790 square miles in size.

Having effectively zoned into four local editions, we are actively pursuing fresh revenue opportunities across all our advertising categories.

We are looking for an outstanding Sales Manager to lead our classified advertising department, currently handling the biggest classified volume in the country. We want someone who can lead from the front, with drive and a determination to succeed; someone who is not afraid to be measured by results.

We expect to see high abilities in the sales training areas; good organising strength; plenty of new ideas for revenue growth; experience in motivating large groups of people who sell by telephone or in the field, and an aptitude for sales figures and marketing statistics.

Exciting future prospects exist for the right person who will be joining a small but determined team of professional sales managers. In return we offer an excellent salary, company car, and first-class fringe benefits.

Write giving full details to:

THE GROUP PERSONNEL MANAGER (G)  
MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS  
164 DEANS GATE, MANCHESTER M60 2RD

**Manchester Evening News**

Britain's biggest regional newspaper

**PROGRAMME EDITOR—THAMES NEWS**

Thames News is the London area's longest running, most successful, nightly local news programme.

To fill this key editorial position, the successful candidate will need to be attuned to the Thames area, have several years' television experience, a keen journalistic interest in hard news and an ability to manage a complex news operation.

If you feel you are the person we are looking for, please send a full CV to arrive no later than Friday 15 March 1985.

Thames is an equal opportunities employer.



Peter Fiske,  
Senior Personnel Officer,  
Thames Television Ltd.,  
306-316 Euston Road,  
London NW1 3BB.

**KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA EDITORS**

An English language daily newspaper, published in RIYADH and circulating throughout the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and abroad, is offering long term (desk) EDITOR appointments.

The responsibilities will be editing news, reports, specialist subjects and features — language usage / correction and import. Experience sought: at least 10 years with a national newspaper and preferably a significant spell working overseas. Good educational backgrounds will be taken into account. Successful candidates are not likely to be under 35 years old.

Salary (tax free) negotiable. Benefits include furnished flat or an allowance in lieu, opportunity for families to join later, 30 days annual leave, air tickets and free medical care.

Interviews in the UK within one month of this advertisement date. Please send full C.V., quoting minimum salary expectations (envelope marked EDITORS) to:

ALYAMAH PRESS ESTABLISHMENT  
RIYADH DAILY, P.O. BOX 25945  
RIYADH 11476, KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

**Hertfordshire County Council in association with the EASTERN ARTS ASSOCIATION Arts Development Officer**

£9,477-£11,025 plus £192 Weighting Allowance

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications and ideally experience of working in the arts, for the above post based at Welwyn Garden City Library. The appointment, to run from April 1985 or as soon as possible thereafter, is for an initial period of one year with possibility of renewal.

Forms and further details from Margaret Wallis, Training/Personnel Officer, Hertfordshire Library Service, County Hall, Hertford SG13 9EL. Closing date — Monday 18 March 1985.

Hertfordshire County Council  
An Equal Opportunity Employer

**MOTOR CYCLE WRITER BIKE MAGAZINE**

Do you dress sharply, have a good speaking voice and a love of healthy outdoor activities? No? Who cares? Bike, the UK's top selling motor cycle monthly, needs an experienced journalist with a strong personal style to produce features, road tests and general stories. A knowledge of motor cycles and a clean full motor cycle licence are essential, although a car licence as well would be an advantage.

Good salary, usual freebies, blags and foreign trips etc. etc. . . yawn.

So write with full career details to: Eileen Quaddy, Editor, Bike Magazine, 2 St. John's Place, St. John's Square, London EC1M 4JX.

**BEACON PUBLICATIONS PLC require****FREELANCE EDITOR**

A freelance Editor is required by leading directory publisher of Middle East title, for general duties of updating information listings. Must be self-motivated and have a keen eye and a bright mind. Experience in travel industry an advantage. Hours to suit in agreement with the publisher. Write enclosing your c.v. to Ken Hughes, Publisher, Beacon Publications PLC, PO Box 138, Northampton NN5 4PZ.



## Head of Electronic Graphics

### ITN

- With the change from traditional techniques to electronic technology Independent Television News needs an experienced and imaginative designer to fill this exciting new post. Good communication skills and organisational flair are needed to lead the company through this transition and to extract the maximum flexibility and creativity that the latest techniques offer.
- The successful candidate will be responsible for the day to day running of the graphics department, working alongside other designers and specialists including producers, directors and reporters. News is a fast moving and immediate environment and so applicants must be able to work quickly and decisively under pressure.
- For such a challenging and senior post ITN will be looking for considerable design experience, together with proven leadership qualities.
- Salary will be dependent on experience.

Applications, enclosing a CV, should be sent as quickly as possible to: Manager, Computing & Graphics, Independent Television News, 48 Wells St., London W1P 4DE

ITN is an equal opportunities employer.

## Writer/ Sub Editor

'What's new in Building' the UK's fastest growing building monthly requires an energetic, speedy Writer / Sub Editor.

We want someone who can write short, crisp product items for a discerning audience of top UK building specifiers, including architects, and who has a practical knowledge of sub-editing and layout.

A good salary will be offered, together with a range of benefits including 4 weeks' holiday, rising to 5 with service, contributory pension scheme with free life assurance and subsidised staff luncheon club.

For further details please contact: Derek Hoiler, Editor, 'What's new in Building', Morgan-Granman plc., 30 Calderwood Street, Woolwich, London SE18 6QH. Tel: 01-855 7777.

## Art Editor Yachting World

Have you the flair to handle the creative direction and monthly make-up of the world's leading Yachting Journal? Have you got the eye to get the most from the world's best colour photography? Are you experienced in magazine production and used to working to deadlines?

If the answer is 'yes' you could be Yachting World's next Art Editor. All terms and conditions of employment will be in accordance with the Business Press International/NUJ Agreement.

Telephone the Editor, Dick Johnson on 01-861 3864 or write to him at Yachting World, Room L506, Business Press International Ltd., Quadrant House, The Quadrant, Sutton, Surrey, SM2 5AS.

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## FILM PRODUCTION AND FACILITIES COMPANY

Secretarial appears on page 18  
More Creative Appointments appear on page 20

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## English Theatre Guild

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## THE COST OF THE MINERS' STRIKE 1984-1985

## The final account of a family that lived on pride

A POT OF potatoes is boiling away in the kitchen. As long as I have a sack of potatoes I know we have got a meal, even if it's a plate of chips," Pat McDonald said. Her husband, Colin, a miner at what was once classed Europe's most productive pit—Kellingley in North Yorkshire—will only go back marching under an NUM banner.

"The Coal Board and the Government have taken a lot of things away from us. They have taken away our right to move around the country, they have taken our social security, they have bombarded us with propaganda, but what they are not going to take off me and a lot of men like me, is my pride and my dignity," Colin said.

## The cost to the pits

## Dangers that lie in wait

RON PRICE, who was sometimes accused of scaremongering by the NUM as the miners' strike progressed, says he takes no comfort from the fact that his dire warnings of underground catastrophes in some collieries have proved correct.

As the NCB's head of mining for the past year, he said last September that "things can only get steadily worse — some pits more quickly than others. It's a depressing picture for those dedicated to this industry."

This weekend Mr Price, who has been with the Coal Board for 33 years — starting as a miner at Cannock Chase in Staffordshire — coolly ran through what has become known as the other "casualty list." "We were accused of exaggerating the true position, scaremongering, when we warned of the danger to pits after they have been idle for this length of time — there's never been a production break this long before — but events have proved we were right."

It is a depressing picture: of the 490 coalfaces in the country, 38 have been "lost" over the past year — simply abandoned with machinery through geological problems or spontaneous combustion and often sealed off. The already vulnerable Scottish (12) and Welsh (10) coalfields are worst affected.

In addition, 22 salvage faces — areas where production had ceased and miners were retrieving equipment — have been lost, along with one development face in South Wales, while a further 18 working faces are officially giving "serious cause for concern."

With the average colliery containing about three faces, the instant conclusion is that the equivalent of 12 pits have been lost, although Mr Price dismisses such analysis as "a bag of tricks."

But he does not underestimate the financial cost to the NCB. The Board is currently assessing the position in the hope of making a provisional calculation shortly. The average face costs £2 million to equip with hydraulic roof supports and coal shearer, so the "as new" replacement value of the 38 lost faces would be £76 million.

No one is in any doubt that Scotland, with probably the toughest area management, has emerged as the main casualty of the dispute: its 13 lost faces represent one-third of Scottish deep mine coal capacity. Three pits have actually been lost altogether — one was abandoned in the overtime ban which preceded the strike and the future of a fourth, Seaford in Fife, is in doubt.

Consequently, around 3,000

with tears in their eyes. The only difference is the length of time they have been able to live off £25 a week.

Colin, Pat and their two young children, Jamie, aged five and Leon, two, started the strike 12 months ago with one advantage which many of their neighbours did not share — a clean financial sheet. They had paid off the car, the stereo, and the television. Their house belonged to the council, and Wakefield Metropolitan District Council "being Labour-controlled," Colin said, was prepared to forgo the rent.

But even with a £500 loan and endless meals from Pat's mother, a part-time Westwood, a part-time cleaner, and Pat's sister Lynne providing the children's clothing, the family's weekly income of £24.75 (the sum of the supplementary benefit and family allowance did not go far.

Within months Colin had exhausted £800 he had saved before the strike, sold his life insurance for £300 and stopped payments of £72 a month on a loan of £1,200, which the Yorkshire Bank had been more than willing to freeze. Their eldest son, Jamie, got free school meals even during the school holidays, and the soup kitchen at the miners' welfare club provided up to three meals a day. Life on strike soon took on a rhythm of its own.

Before his second court appearance, the day would start at three in the morning, as Colin and his friends would drive down in groups of four to picket the pits in Nottingham for which he was paid £2 a day from strike funds. Pat would walk the children in the pram four miles to her mother's house in Pontefract.

Then the violence started.

and with it, Colin's brush with the police. His first picket was at Parkside Colliery in Lancashire. "If you got down in big enough numbers you could picket them (the working miners) out. They used to walk out of their buses and we could talk to them, but once the Coal Board decided to put a stop to it, that was the end of that."

"We always had a good shove with the North Yorkshire bobbies and they would enjoy that. But then the London Met officers came up. They took their helmets off, put their arms inside and used them to club pickets to the ground. It was amazing. The first time I saw that I just stood there. I had been brought up to respect the police. I would have said that a thing like that could not happen in England in 1984. The chief

inspector was screaming at his men to get back in line. It was quite obvious he had lost control of his men."

As someone who had personally campaigned for Arthur Scargill's presidency of the NUM, Colin could easily fit the bogey image of the angry picket, intimidating working miners with the threat of mob rule. Unfortunately for the image Colin is also a member of the Mines Rescue Team at Kellingley and as committed to his pit as he is to the strike.

In Knottingley, a community close to the pit but with two other industries, he was wholly devoted to housing Kellingley's miners, the tension got so bad, that the local police duly introduced a "community" policeman, who has since been writing polite notes on Colin's transit van parked illegally on the grass verge outside his house. Colin cannot help drawing a political conclusion: "Personally I think the police were a toy of the Government. They lost their neutrality but at the end they must have been fed up of being away from home, because their attitude hardened. They were like tyrants."

Winter set in and with it the need to get in fuel. Illegally picked from outcrops of coal usually to be found in railway embankments, Colin said: "If the worst

came to the worst, I said I would sell the television, the stereo, everything rather than go back."

His wife Pat interrupts: "I still don't think he should go back. He has been out this long. He should only go back if they win." Curiously the political air in North Yorkshire is not full of recrimination.

Colin, a member of the local constituency Labour Party that will have no difficulty in reselecting a moderate Labour MP, does not blame the Labour leadership for lack of support. Neil Kinnock could have been "more active" in supporting the strike in speeches, but Colin is more disgusted with the TUC who "crawled" to Mrs Thatcher. Locally, however, the Labour Party's membership has risen sharply during the strike.

It will be the railwaymen

that Thatcher will attract next," Colin said. It would only be then that the country would see the consequences of the miners' defeat.

And after 12 months of hardship, two court convictions, and the prospect that no jobs had been saved by their action, did Colin consider it had all been worth it?

"Yes it has been worth it for the simple reason that the principle of the strike is as just today as it was when we went out on the first day. If we had got Nottingham out on strike, all the members of the union, there's no doubt about it, we would have won. We have lost, but it's been an expensive lesson for all concerned."

David Hearst

## The cost to our freedom

## The year of taking liberties

RIGHTS and liberties have been an emotional issue in the propaganda battle in the miners' dispute — notably the right to work, the right to move freely round the country, the right to assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

The Government and police have concentrated mainly on preserving the right of miners to work if they want to and to be free from intimidation. The National Union of Mineworkers and its supporters have concentrated on police road blocks, restrictive bail conditions, and provocative or high-handed action by the police.

Ministers and some lawyers argue that traditional British policing methods and legal procedures have been vindicated and that the civil liberties of both working and striking miners have remained largely unscathed during the dispute.

But opposition politicians, other lawyers and the National Council for Civil Liberties are calling for a judicial inquiry into the way they feel the police and courts have imperilled liberty by extending their normal range of action to cope with the pressures of the dispute.

The first right which came into question was the right to work. The NUM, of men to break the strike and work. The police, by mobilising large numbers of men, have managed throughout the strike to get men to work past mass pickets. They have also used road blocks to prevent people reaching mass pickets.

This happened first at the Dartford Tunnel, where Kent police ordered men to turn back, under threat of arrest, if they thought the men were travelling to the Midlands coalfield. The same method was used in Nottinghamshire to prevent pickets entering from Yorkshire, and the Chief Constable there said 66,000 men were turned back in 27 weeks.

The High Court ruled last December that one of the Nottinghamshire road blocks was legal, but endorsed the view of the miners' lawyers that a considerable number of turn people back in this way if he reasonably believed a breach of the peace was going to take place soon and nearby.

Some legal commentators have concluded that the Dartford Tunnel operation, which was limited by the Kent police after several days, was an example of the police going beyond their powers.

In some areas, strike-breakers found they were being intimidated and their property damaged. Police quickly set up special teams to deal with this, and some serious criminal charges are awaiting trial.

People arrested on picket lines often found that police asked for and magistrates granted, restrictive bail conditions. Restrictions of various kinds are commonly set, but some miners found themselves obliged to live away from home while awaiting trial, for example.

In a test case in the High Court, it was argued that the police were failing to consider each defendant's circumstances. The judge backed the magistrates' actions.

One complaint is that police have arrested miners indiscriminately on picket lines. Bail conditions banning further picketing have then been imposed, but at a later date charges have been dropped or substituted by a bind-over to keep the peace. Last week the serious charge of unlawful assembly was withdrawn in over 80 cases.

Ms Louise Christian, a solicitor who has represented miners, said that this sequence of events amounted to a "back-door" ban on peaceful demonstrations. "The only charges of unlawful assembly to reach Crown Court so far were dismissed by a jury in Sheffield recently."

The High Court has also ruled that mass picketing in

South Wales and South Yorkshire was unlawful because it infringed the right of working miners to be free of nuisance and harassment. Mr Justice Scott said that six pickets — the number suggested in a Government code of practice — was the maximum.

Mr Nick Blake, barrister, commented that the judge was effectively making the code into law. This was symptomatic of the way the courts in England — in contrast to Scotland — had abandoned their traditional caution about intervening in trade union affairs.

Graham Zellick, professor of public law at Queen Mary College, University of London, said he is concerned about the legality of some of the road blocks and the implications of the latest High Court ruling. Others say civil liberties had been "fairly unscathed."

"No special powers have been enacted, no special forces like the army have been drafted in, and none of the equipment deployed which police would have used in other countries, such as water cannon."

Mr Alex Carlisle QC, Liberal MP for Montgomery, and a member of the Parliamentary civil liberties group, said he admires the way ordinary policemen have behaved and that "the behaviour of the NUM and the mobs has been scandalous."

But he said the police lost their sense of proportion when they sometimes used 2,000 officers to get two men to work. He thought it bad for public confidence in the law for police to dredge up "antiquated offences such as 'watching and besetting'."

"Unlawful assembly" and "riot." The public order laws should be put on a modern footing, he said, and a judicial inquiry into the legal aspects of the strike as a new Royal Commission on the police were needed.

Mr Clive Soley, MP for Hammersmith and Labour's spokesman on the police, said the Government chose to use the police rather than its own new laws making secondary picketing a civil offence. "The police were left to find offences to fit the circumstances, which is why archaic nineteenth century laws were rediscovered," he said.

"With the road blocks and the dramatically extended bail conditions, civil liberties have suffered and the climate is much harsher and more restrictive. The Government has used the police to deal with the results of its failed economic and industrial relations policies."

Mr Robert Reiner, lecturer in the sociology of law at Bristol University, said it was inevitable during collective conflict that police discipline would be breached and individual liberties would be infringed. "There is clear evidence of assembly line justice," he said.

"But I'm doubtful there has been a broad move towards a stronger state. We should see what's happened as a departure from a norm which must now be restored. I'm more worried by a change in the style of the police, who seem less concerned than before to achieve peaceful resolutions in situations where both sides have some rights."

The Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, has resisted the argument that civil liberties have been undermined and pointed out that people with grievances can go to the courts or file formal complaints against the police. The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, was prompted by the violence in the strike to order the Home Office to accelerate its review of public order law. New legislative proposals are expected soon.

There is speculation that these will include a new police power to move, but not to ban, static demonstrations. In its interim report last year on events in the miners' strike, the NCOA appealed that "the strike should not be used as an excuse for precipitate legislation restricting civil liberties."

Stephen Cook



Two sides on the picket line (top and bottom); Colin McDonald and his family (centre right); miners back at work at Kellingley pit, North Yorkshire (centre left); picture by Don McPhee and Denis Thorpe

Peter Hetherington

## The cost to the country

## The three thousand million pound bill

THE MINERS' strike is the most expensive dispute Britain has ever experienced. The final bill is not known, but it looks as though it will be at least £3 billion — nearly £140 for every working person in the country.

Mr Scargill's claim that it has cost the nation over £5 billion is probably correct as an approximation. The gross loss to economic output (about one per cent), but it does not allow for the fact that there will be a "catch up" period when the strike is over. The cost not mined during the strike (which reduced Gross Domestic Product compared with what it would otherwise have been) is still there to be hewn when the dash to rebuild stocks begins. By shifting some growth from 1984 into 1985, Mr Scargill's strike will have the unintended effect of producing and accelerating expansion in the fourth year of an economic upturn.

The main extra cost has been the need to import fuel oil and coal for power

stations which has cost the balance of payments around £3 billion. Oil is 50 per cent more expensive than coal, but was needed because the electricity authorities decided at an early stage to attempt to ride out the strike by bringing into action all the "uneconomic" (if one is allowed to use that word) oil-fired stations. This underlines one of the ironies of the strike: Mrs Thatcher could never have attempted to win it but for one of the great planning blunders of the Sixties — the dash to build oil-fired power stations misbegotten assumption that the world was entering an era of cheap oil.

The £3 billion extra cost of oil and coal imports is irretrievable in that it has all been used. But the electricity industry has probably saved about half of that sum through not burning so much coal and through reducing its stocks. Similarly the coal industry's lost output (estimated at 70 million tonnes worth £3.3 billion by stockbrokers Simon and Coates),

has been offset by £2.2 billion in reduced wages.

The cost to public expenditure (on an extrapolation of Treasury figures) is about £1.8 billion to the end of February. But this, of course, cannot be added to the balance of payments figure since much of it is double counting being composed of borrowing by the electricity and coal industries to buy extra imports. About £1.2 billion is the cost of extra nationalised industry spending, and most of the rest is the cost of extra policing and social security payments.

Economic growth during the strike was reduced by around 14 per cent, but some of this will be recouped in 1985 if the NCB decides to rebuild stocks to something like their previous levels.

These assumptions are largely based on Treasury figures — which have become more realistic since the Chancellor's statement in the summer that the cost of the strike thus far had been £350 million (a serious underestimate even then),

and that this was a worthwhile investment for the nation "even in narrow financial terms."

The most authoritative independent estimates of the cost of the dispute (the first miners' strike to involve so much computer power), also put the net cost in the region of £3 billion. Gavyn Davies, the chief UK economist of stockbrokers Simon and Coates, says that this is the cumulative cash cost (ie extra outlays less savings) up to the end of February. He adds that knock-on costs in 1985/6 (like repairs to damaged pits, backlog of investment and restocking) could add nearly £700 million. He estimates the total loss to GNP at 2 per cent and the cost to the balance of payments at over £2 billion.

Paul Ormerod of the Henley Centre (which prepared a survey for Newsnight) says that the net cost has been £3 billion in exchange for which (if the rationalisation goes through) the Government would get savings of about £250 million a year for the

next decade. The permanent loss of output is likely to be about 0.9 per cent of Gross Domestic Product.

None of these estimates attempts to embrace some of the hidden costs of the strike like the increases in the crime rate in areas from which police had been diverted. Nor do they attempt the even more difficult exercise of quantifying the extent to which the strike may have depressed the value of the pound.

In ordinary circumstances, a year-long coal strike would have certainly depressed sterling but this year has been complicated by two factors. First the strength of the US dollar against all currencies has been the main cause of the decline of sterling. Second, the foreign perception of Britain as an oil currency has made the pound vulnerable to movements in the oil prices. That the Central Electricity Generating Board has emerged as the biggest individual new buyer of oil, may have acted as an upward pressure on

world oil prices and therefore kept the pound up rather than down.

To the Government, of course, the biggest cost — in electoral terms — would have been to take on the miners and to be seen clearly to have lost. As it has turned out a political victory has been won at a cost — over £3 billion — so large that it will take many years to recoup from economies within the coal industry. This is particularly so if you add in the unemployment, redundancy and social costs of financing unemployment in pit villages.

On the other hand, if all this leads to sea change in the attitudes of other unions to pay claims, then future inflation will be lower than otherwise and unemployment could be higher.

Whether the Government — if it had known in advance that the strike was going to cost over £3 billion — would have embarked on the confrontation in the first place, is quite another question.

Victor Keegan



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# AGENDA

## Tap, tap—who's there? I'm sorry, you can't ask that



### OUT OF COURT

Geoffrey Robertson

IN A REMARKABLE demonstration of the counter-productive consequences of censorship, the IBA has placed the political agenda just in time for Wednesday's opening of the Government's new Interception of Communications Bill. This curious measure purports to impose legal controls on mail

and telephone interception, but its true purpose is to effect what will be to remove them entirely from any scrutiny by the courts. It is a law, in other words, to place State surveillance above the law.

That, of course, is where much of its stands at the present. The Government has been forced to introduce the Bill because the European Court of Human Rights has held that interception by unreviewable warrant of the Home Secretary is a breach of the European Convention's guarantee of privacy.

The Bill seeks to answer this criticism by giving the Home Secretary statutory power to do precisely what he does already but to permit a tribunal of five lawyers to investigate complaints that he has not done it properly, or that it has been done without his approval. The tribunal is there to ensure procedural correctness in certain forms of interception: it cannot judge the merits of the decision to target persons or organisations. It may inspect the Home Secretary's signature, but it cannot look over his shoulder.

The Bill will not satisfy those who believe that secret State surveillance should be conducted within strict

guidelines. For a start, it applies only to interceptions of messages "in the course of their transmissions by post or by means of a public telecommunication system": the wide and technologically wonderful world of bugging devices is entirely excluded.

Decisions to plant bugging devices in private homes, or to use directional microphones, can pose much graver threats to privacy. Nor is there any legal requirement for a warrant when consent to open mail or tap telephones is granted by "a person occupying the premises"—in other words, by any landlord.

Moreover, warrants need not relate to individuals: they can apply generally to "premises" occupied by one or several organisations, employer, or government department.

The Bill provides that the Home Secretary may issue a warrant if he considers it necessary "in the interests of national security," for the purpose of preventing or detecting serious crime, or to safeguard "the economic well-being of the United Kingdom," from actions of persons abroad. There are no definitions of "national security" or "serious crime": the Home Sec-

retary remains the unappealable judge.

The Tribunal cannot take issue with his decision: a warrant is necessary if the Home Secretary "considers" that it is necessary. A crime is serious if the Home Secretary thinks that it is serious.

Don't think to emphasise that the Tribunal's task is largely procedural, it is to comprise five barristers or solicitors who will investigate complaints from members of the public. It is empowered to award compensation if it discovers that an interception has not been authorised either properly or at all.

But it will not be able, for example, to tell a CND member that his or her phone has been tapped if the Home Secretary has duly approved this particular interception. Nor will it be able to award compensation if it discovers that a person has been made of properly intercepted communications.

Anne McCarthy, the Guardian journalist who claims that the transcript of a conversation with her husband was disclosed to a public relations officer (who then drunkenly told her about it), would have no right to compensation for the invasion of

her privacy if the Home Secretary had approved the original tap.

The Bill carefully removes the Tribunal from any form of legal scrutiny. It is not even permitted to give reasons for its decision, unless it actually discovers an unauthorised interception. Its decisions are not just unappealable: Section 7(8) of the Bill excludes them from the ordinary processes of judicial review.

That there should be a Tribunal at all is of course an improvement on the existing position, as are the statutory powers given to a Commissioner drawn from the higher judiciary to monitor intercept procedures generally. But no amount of monitoring by lawyers can disguise the fact that what is being monitored is the procedure for warrant applications, and not the merits of making grants of a particular application.

The most objectionable clause in the Bill actually destroys the existing right to raise issues about telephone tapping in the courts. Clause 9 provides that in any proceedings before any court "no evidence shall be adduced and no question in cross-examination shall be asked which tends to sug-

gest" that any state employee has tapped a telephone or opened mail, whether authorised by warrant or not.

The scope of this clause is breathtaking: no matter how relevant the evidence may be to the defence of a person accused of crime, or to the resolution of civil litigation, the issue simply cannot be raised.

It is ironic to recall that this Bill is only being introduced because of a European Court decision in the case of James v. Secretary of State for the Home Department. In that case, a man whose phone was tapped through a question asked in court, and who challenged the legality of the interception in civil proceedings before Mr. Justice Magray, had Clause 9 been in operation, the question could not have been asked, there would have been no High Court judgment, and there would have been no ensuing case in the European Court.

There would have been no interception of Communications Bill either. Parliament has any concern for liberty and justice, Clause 9 at least must be rejected.

But the fundamental criticism of this Bill lies in its conception rather than its

drafting detail. Why make the Home Secretary, an over-stretched and highly political figure, the sole decider of an individual's right to privacy?

Once the law lays down the conditions upon which a warrant should be issued, those who seek it should approach the courts for a determination as to whether the application fulfils these strict conditions, rather than simply ask a busy politician whether he "considers" the interception "necessary."

There is no shortage of appropriate models. In Germany, a special court system provides that phone taps may only be installed when a judge is satisfied that there is imminent danger of serious crime. All transcripts are delivered directly to the judge, who decides what relevant sections should be handed over to the police, and the whole system is supervised by an all-party committee of MPs.

The Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure recommended that warrants should be obtainable from judges on carefully defined grounds, with the additional safeguard of the presence of a lawyer instructed by the official solicitor to take any objection appropriate on behalf of the proposed surveillance target.

These systems are more rational and effective than one which pivots upon a politician's approval, however many lawyers are subsequently involved in perusing his paperwork.

The abiding curiosity of the British approach to interception to be entrenched by this Bill is that the fruits are never used in Court as evidence to convict those overheard planning serious crime.

If application were made to a judge for a warrant on the basis recommended by the Royal Commission, there could be no objection to introducing tapes and transcripts in support of a prosecution. Just as evidence obtained under a search warrant is regularly produced. Even in national security cases, society would be better protected if warrants were granted by judges rather than politicians.

Just as Home Secretaries may be tempted to authorise surveillance of their political enemies where national security is not involved, so they may refuse to authorise interception of political allies when national security really is at stake.

Geoffrey Robertson is a barrister and editor of the "Out of Court" column.

TWO FAMILY types are doing moderately well even in times of recession. First, those in the private sector concentrated in small towns and rural areas, in small factories and offices in newer manufacturing and service industries. They are moderately well-off, but in unions or staff associations dominated by local bargaining, relatively unconnected to national unions, the TUC or the Labour Party. They tend to be owner-occupiers and to contribute to private pension and life insurance schemes.

Because of their predominantly manual origins many still vote Labour. They may be committed to the education and health services, but as for the rest of the Welfare State they are uneasy. They suspect the poor of scrounging off their, the Taxpayers' money. These are still ordinary households whose interests do not lie with the rich. But unless Labour recaptures an ideology which resonates in their life experience, their defection to the Conservatives or the Alliance will continue. I call them the moderately prosperous flowerers.

The second type, also moderately prosperous, are predominantly in public employment or in such large-scale, traditional manufacturing as steel, shipbuilding or aircraft. They are concentrated in cities, are heavily unionised, and their unions dominate the national labour movement.

Like the first type, they may be manual or non-manual. They may be owner-occupiers or council tenants: they are likely to be in employer pension funds. Their respectability is culturally working-class rather than bourgeois. They are the moderately prosperous Labour core, in activism and in voting.

There is a third type which consists of households of the poor, predominantly outside the reach of the organisations of the Labour movement, either because they are non-working single-parent households (usually women), because they are unemployed, or because they work in exploited but unorganised service and casual industries.

The problem here, though traditional, is worsening in the ways of the welfare state. First, the number of people involved has been greatly increasing. Second, their defence of the Welfare State may be weakening in the ways of the welfare state. First, the number of people involved has been greatly increasing. Second, their defence of the Welfare State may be weakening in the ways of the welfare state.

While their interests obviously lie with an extension

Hatching out a future—the small business family type that Labour needs to capture

## Can Labour make social citizens of us all?

MICHAEL MANN



of the Welfare State, their relative isolation makes them a political. These welfare dependants are unreliable supporters.

Labour can continue to attract the support of the second type, especially the public sector and the inner cities, almost indefinitely. It can probably continue to get as much support from the third as any other party. Some of the first type will stay through sentiment and conscience.

If we constructed a shopping-list of policies to appeal to members of all three social groups, we would end up with a rag-bag.

Just to chase "Labour core" voters, the Party into disheartened job protection-

ism. "Welfare dependants" are never chased hard for their votes, since they are not an effective lobby. But to do this alone would alienate the other groups.

Something more is needed, an ideological offensive finding a common socialist thread in the aspirations and deprivations of the three types of family. I suggest that we require an ideology of social citizenship, rooted in Labour traditions yet capable of being up-dated to deal with the post-war trends it enumerated.

Social movements rest on ideologies in broad visions of how society is and how it ought to be. The present Conservative Party believes, falsely, that it possesses such an ideology. Of the three

family types identified earlier, it strikes effective chords only among the "moderately prosperous flowerers".

Against this, Labour can mobilise a more formidable ideology. Labour is not for curing rather than wealth. In fact democratic socialism is a superior theory of how wealth is created in modern society; through a fair society based on the cooperation of free citizens.

I suggest that Labour has a potent, popular weapon available through its ideological traditions. Social citizenship guarantees adequate participation in economic, social and cultural life as of right. The right to citizenship means an absolute right, no questions asked, no tests

of worth or of morality, required.

True, it has never been fully implemented, it may even be quite utopian in its fullest ideals. But it has more resonance than its Tory opposite—selectivity of citizenship and benefits only to those in need, as defined by the state's surveillance machinery—simply because in the modern society we are all closely inter-dependent, all susceptible to the same vagaries of fortune.

Naturally, social citizenship requires up-dating. Indeed, its strength as an ideology is precisely that it can overcome the varieties of experience which have grown up in the post-war period. The particular policies which would be both just and popu-

lar among the three main types of family I identified would be many, detailed and varied. But their common aim is to secure rights of citizenship, some in their details old, others new.

In the sphere of employment the right to work should follow from citizenship. In macro-economics this involves a commitment to Keynesian principles. In social policy it might involve measures such as a guarantee of employment (though not in present job), a minimum wage, and participation in decision-making and adequate care facilities for children, the elderly, and the disabled (so that women and single-parents can work if they wish to). In housing, citizenship should guarantee basic standards of housing and control over it.

In the sphere of welfare, citizenship should guarantee an adequate standard of health and economic security, regardless of ability to work and with a minimum of state surveillance over eligibility. In detail this might involve the provision of a national minimum for all, regardless of circumstance.

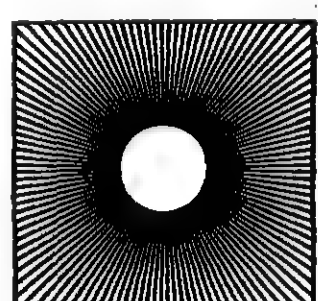
Policy details are outside of my scope here. In any case the Labour Party is at present fertile in specific policy ideas even the Manifesto showed). But policy should stem from a broad ideological vision, to fire activists and attract mass support.

Policy should be built on top of a simpler, more universal, makes radical understanding of citizen rights to enhance the power of the ordinary person and family against the power of big capital and state bureaucracy alike. Like all socialist ideals, that of social citizenship can be formulated in relatively mild or revolutionary terms and can inspire countless "left versus right" disputes.

We can no longer plausibly glorify the industrial proletariat as even the Manifesto showed). But policy should stem from a broad ideological vision, to fire activists and attract mass support.

This is an extract from *Social Change and Socialism*, published last week by the Fabian Society at £1.50. Michael Mann is a lecturer in sociology at the London School of Economics.

## Flying with Cupitt



FACE TO FAITH

Christopher Driver

AFTER the Synod and the Sea of Faith (as seen on TV), the small back room. To be precise, round a table in the Waterloos Room of the Waldorf Hotel, where a picture by Joseph Farquharson depicted a string of anoraks bound about Don Cupitt, the radical Dean of Emswold, Cambridge, had come to bury metaphysics in a very English way, over a cup of tea with the godly end of Fleet Street.

His campaign to eliminate the last trace of supernaturalism from religion (not just Christian) thought and practice is rounded off with the publication this month of *Only Human* (£5.95), which the SCM Press have dressed to match its predecessors, *Taking Leave of God* and *The World to Come*. And if his publisher John Bowden plans similar seminars for his other spring authors (including the Bishop of Birmingham and the univocal and Peter Mendenhall, the positive statement the Guardian's correspondence column has been demanding of him), they have a hard act to follow.

As a book-cruncher and phrase-collector, Cupitt is as philosophically as Martin Heidegger in *Being and Time*. Even the terminology connects them: for Cupitt, Christianity is a "hot" religion, Buddhism a "cool" one and he prefers the "internalised ethic" of the latter. He also proposes a "cosmology" of the former, (So does Clive Ponting.)

The new book conducts the reader through all the sciences, from geology to anthropology, that have taken their bite out of the idea of the sacred over the centuries. It finishes with "the only act of transcendence now possible, the 360 degree turn. This—literally—revolution takes the pilgrim back with fresh eyes to the one thing needful: the neighbour, the next step, the present moment, and the primacy of the ethical."

In an appendix on the future of religious thought, Cupitt chooses out of Christianity's forgotten themes "the Way of Purgation, its dislike of outward show and preference for everything that is austere, hidden, dry and subjective. We want religion to be a severe inner discipline without any consolations whatever. The colder and clearer the better. There must be no more pixie-dust."

For the national church which he serves as an ordained priest in the intellectual front line that is Cambridge, Cupitt wishes not the sectarian strictness enjoined by London, Norwich and other episcopal opponents (from opposite wings) of fudge and snudge, but traditional inclusiveness, plus the sense of explosive poetry and alternative thought-ways which he detects in the New Testament before imagination hardened into doctrine and doctrine into the law of the land. The fundamentalism that is currently gripping different parts of the world is "religion" without spirituality.

The revivalist preacher knows nothing of the Bible: he has merely projected his own dogmatism and his small-town prejudices upon it. (So there, Ronald.)

Looking up at the snow-bound sheep, we asked if he would recommend this curriculum to bishops. "I have every sympathy with them. They're expected to manage people and to teach things whatever their actual beliefs. It's highly immoral—but very common in the Church of England—to expect your priest to do your believing for you, allowing yourself to score 3 out of 10 while expecting him to manage at least 7 or 8. Most church debates are hung up on language, hard

though it is after the linguistic revolution to see how we could have supposed it possible for an idea or creed to transcend the world of language and culture with which it is supposed to communicate. "I am trying to recapture," Cupitt said, "some of the force and plainness of language that the Reformers had. Taking Leave of God nearly put me in a mental hospital. I spent every day for ten weeks tearing up the day's work and then on September 13 I was digging my allotment and it all descended." He didn't seem to notice the unreconstructed spatial metaphor and went on: "Every time I did it, I really understood what I'd written till a year or two after."

As Clifford Longley of the Times (playing for the Realists) and Cupitt (playing for the Anthropomorphists) noted the ball to and fro I had an image not of a Sea of Faith but of a slowly disintegrating raft on which the "saved" supernaturalists think they can safely jockey for position because they are underpinned by metaphysical planks called Being, or for that matter Not-Being.

The sea, by contrast, is a metaphor for everything there is, and Cupitt, though perhaps not too many others—is prepared to take his chance swimming and communicating in it till a bigger fish turns up to swallow him.

I asked him if he could ever see himself writing a hymn. In other words, could he articulate in plain Reformation language a belief or aspiration that others could share in an act of post-structural Christian worship?

The reply revealed the man. He did not want to be a man, people would have done, behind incapacity as a versifier or liturgist. The problem, he said, would be his existentialist background. Yet that background, at the most sympathetic to answer after the Sea of Faith series, as happened to John Robinson after *East to God* 20 years back. Bowden remarked that fundamental debates about what Christianity is occur in the Church of England at roughly 20-year intervals. Of course they are never resolved, nor in most pews (and pulpits) even understood. The Bishop of Birmingham (Hugh Montefiore) in his forthcoming book *What is Protestantism?* can still imagine God making the world. Cupitt has read the manuscript and agrees that it represents a much higher quality of back-lash than previous generations of progressive theologians came to expect.

But for Cupitt, whatever made the world, the making of God is our own work, our Supreme Fiction. He sounded a little wistful about his publisher's 20-year intervals. The trouble is that every time round, the radicals have to travel a little further than the conservatives. "And some of my students are already accusing me of being too timorous."

Christopher Driver is the former editor of the *Good Food Guide*. Readers are invited to write a hymn, accommodating Don Cupitt's theology, with the first line (and to the tune) of "The Church's One Foundation". Entries (one verse only) should be sent to the Face to Faith editor, c/o The Guardian, by Monday, March 19.

## Whatever Harry's game was, trust is the loser

Trevor Blackwell

LAST week one of my closest friends and colleagues, Harry Newton, was named by his Cathy Massiter in a banned television documentary as the M15 agent who had infiltrated and had infiltrated.

I first met Harry Newton when I began teaching at Fircroft College, a residential adult education college where he was senior tutor. During the 1970s we became close friends, not least because we were caught up together in an attempt to reform which cost us both our jobs. We spent innumerable hours discussing the meaning of life, the difficulty of knowing anything for certain about how the world works.

Harry had a fund of marvellous stories, which he told with great relish and perfect timing: about the gas strike when he led in Yorkshire where, when he subsequently left university to study at Leeds University, a defeated and overworked management told him that they would have built him his own bloody

energy and his insights. And throughout all this, we were told, he was spying on us. The first response is disbelief, anger and numbness. It's just preposterous. Harry, of all people. And the phone starts and the anger is channelled into a protest by his family and friends and colleagues, who demand that these allegations about Harry should be substantiated or withdrawn. It is only after the phone stops ringing that the full horror of what is happening comes home.

For once the accusation is made, once the eerie world of espionage is invoked, once power and knowledge are linked together in this particular way, a sinister transformation takes place. Suddenly the past begins to unravel backwards from the point of "discovery". Everything with a dialectical logic that the Marxist in Harry would have relished, is transformed.

The fact that Harry maintained such a wide network of friends and associates in the Labour movement ceases to be a tribute to his personal warmth and intense involvement in radical politics, and becomes instead the professional shrewdness of an information collector; his inspiring speeches become the machinations of an agent provocateur; indeed, every appearance of innocence is

transmuted into the cunning with which this agent maintained his so effective cover. We have to prove that anyone is innocent of the charge that they set out to deliberately deceive their closest friends and colleagues. And who is not capable of behaving in contradictory and bizarre ways, of having some areas of their lives hidden from others, and above all from their friends?

The fear of betrayal releases deep, elemental anxieties which reach back to our childhood vulnerabilities. Some sufferings are unavoidable. In a sense, all growth and development involves betrayal. But what we do to make of this night-mare which our modern society has willed upon us, how we are to comprehend this deliberate manipulation of our personal problems and individual neuroses by the state. Are we not betrayed sufficiently often by our lovers and friends, in the trivial deceptions of everyday life, or the more particular disappointments of high-days and holidays, that we need the government to add its own quota?

We have to ask what is happening to Britain in 1985 when those whose politics are no more subversive than being involved in a trade union, or working for the

Labour Party, or supporting the idea of nuclear disarmament, discover that they may have been spied upon by their friends and colleagues. It was not so long ago that it was described as left wing paranoia to believe that we were living in a police state; we were told that we were fooling ourselves with delusions of our own importance if we worried that our phones might be tapped. Who is now so sure? We were warned that a party which came to power under a strong, defiant ideological mission to transform the very texture of our lives, would destroy what we valued in the English way of life and undermine the very fabric of our democracy. But how was it that no-one ever mentioned that that party would call itself

Conservative 1974, when the dispute at Fircroft College was at its height. I attended a meeting with Harry to try to gain support for keeping the college open. Harry was a gifted orator, and not for the first time, he seized the attention of the meeting with his opening comment: "I know from my years in politics," he said, "that in every meeting be it ever so large or small, there is always a

spy." He paused, the audience hushed and still before him. "Now all I ask of the spy who is here this evening is that he report me correctly, so that I shall only be attacked for what I have actually said."

If I can no longer know for certain that a man who devoted his life to the service of his people, who won my trust as close and intimate friend, was not spying on me and reporting our philosophical speculations to M15, then are we not living in a police state even now? Where are the wanted freedoms, the democratic rights, which we brandish as the sign of our superiority over the totalitarian states of the East?

Whether Harry deceived me or not I do not know. What I do know is that the ones who have truly betrayed us are those in government who have so subverted the gentle and decent qualities of English life that no-one can know for certain that their best friend may not be spying on them.

Is the spy reporting Harry Newton correctly now? Trevor Blackwell teaches politics at the University of York. His book *What is Democracy?* (with Jeremy Seabrook) on the history of the post-war working class will be published by Faber in the autumn.

Harry Newton, was named by his Cathy Massiter in a banned television documentary as the M15 agent who had infiltrated and had infiltrated.

I first met Harry Newton when I began teaching at Fircroft College, a residential adult education college where he was senior tutor. During the 1970s we became close friends, not least because we were caught up together in an attempt to reform which cost us both our jobs. We spent innumerable hours discussing the meaning of life, the difficulty of knowing anything for certain about how the world works.

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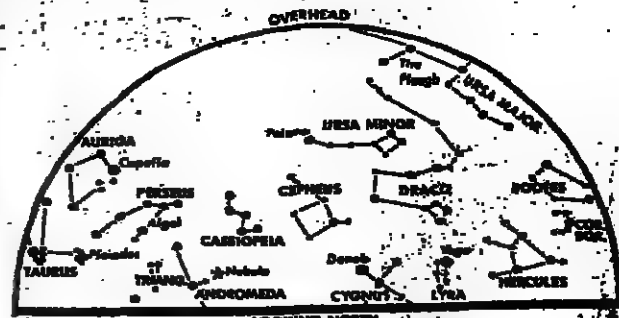
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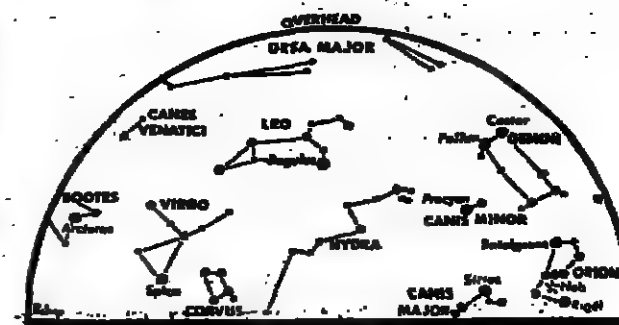
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## THE NIGHT SKY: March 1985



The maps show the brighter stars as they appear at 23.00 GMT on March 1, 22.00 GMT on March 16 and 21.00 GMT (22.00 BST) on March 31.



## Something shocking

by Alan Pickup

THIRTY THOUSAND light years away, in the far south of Britain's summer midnight sky and beyond the star, gas and dust clouds in the direction of the constellation Sagittarius, lies the nucleus of our Galaxy. The Sun and its planets rotate about this point every 220 million years or so at a speed of 250 km per second, but light is obscured by the intervening clouds, and only infra-red and radio waves penetrate to provide a complex and confusing picture of the Galaxy's core. A knowledge of conditions there could provide important clues to the energetic events taking place in quasars and at the centres of other galaxies.

The latest batch of observations and speculations, presented at a meeting of the American Astronomical Society held in Tucson, confirm that the nucleus probably lies close to (and may coincide with) infrared Source 16 (IRS 16), one of several hot spots in the central few light years of the Galaxy. Tom Geballe and others at the UK Infra-red Telescope (UKIRT) in Hawaii reported infrared spectroscopic studies, showing what they believe is hydrogen streaming away from IRS 16 at about 600 km per second. This "wind", amounting perhaps to several times the mass of Jupiter each year, appears to sweep the central 10 light years of the Galaxy relatively free of material.

Ian Gatley and a second team of astronomers at UKIRT have found what they claim is a rotating ring of hydrogen molecules tilted 30 degrees to our line of sight, which would be "invisible" were it not being shocked through collision with this outflowing gas. They argue that the wind blows away from a single "exotic" object, probably IRS 16, some 40 million times more luminous than the Sun. This might be a super-massive star or a black hole, either of which could be re-fueled by accreting material falling inwards against the wind. Radio observations show swirls of plasma near IRS 16 which may be falling inwards, though other researchers at Tucson argued that these swirls are in orbits about a central black hole about four million times more massive than the Sun.

Venus shines brilliantly at magnitude -4.8 some 31 degrees above the west-south-western horizon at sunset now, setting in the west-north-west four hours later. At a distance of 82 million km, the disk of the planet is 40 arc seconds across and 26 per cent sunlit, with the small, bright crescent plainly visible through binoculars. As Venus travels the arc of its orbit between the Earth and the Sun, its elevation at sunset plunges to 8 degrees in the west-north-west on March 31, when it sets less than one hour after the Sun, lies 42 million km away, and has crescent 59 arc seconds tall but only one arc second thick. Keen sighted, naked-eye observers might be able to discern the crescent of Venus later in March.

Mercury joins Venus as an evening star for much of the month, and sets more than 80 minutes after the Sun between March 1 and March 28, fading from magnitude -1.1 to 2.2 during this period. Mercury reaches its greatest elongation of 18 degrees east of the Sun on March 17, when it is magnitude -0.2, 136 mil-

## Diary

\*Times are GMT except where stated otherwise.

Mar. 7 02h. Full moon.  
Mar. 7 22h. Saturn stationary.  
Mar. 11 22h. Saturn 3deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 12 05h. Moon occults star Delta Scorp.  
Mar. 12 08h. Venus stationary.  
Mar. 13 09h. Uranus 2deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 13 18h. Moon at last quarter.  
Mar. 14 12h. Neptune 5deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 15 22.16 Minimum of Algol.  
Mar. 17 02h. Jupiter 5deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 17 07h. Mercury at greatest elongation E (16deg.).  
Mar. 18 19.05 Minimum of Algol.  
Mar. 20 16.14 Vernal equinox.  
Mar. 21 12h. New moon.  
Mar. 22 18h. Mercury 6deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 22 18h. Venus 12deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 23 02h. Mercury 5deg. S of Venus.  
Mar. 24 01h. GMT - 02h. BST - Start of Summer Time.  
Mar. 24 13h. BST Mars 14deg. N of Moon.  
Mar. 29 17h. BST Moon at first quarter.

## The solar system

Even before it disappears from our evening sky, Venus becomes a morning star. On March 31 it rises at the east-north-east 45 minutes before the Sun, a circumstance made possible by the fact that the planet is moving to pass 6 degrees north of the Sun at inferior conjunction on April 3.

Mercury joins Venus as an evening star for much of the month, and sets more than 80 minutes after the Sun between March 1 and March 28, fading from magnitude -1.1 to 2.2 during this period. Mercury reaches its greatest elongation of 18 degrees east of the Sun on March 17, when it is magnitude -0.2, 136 mil-

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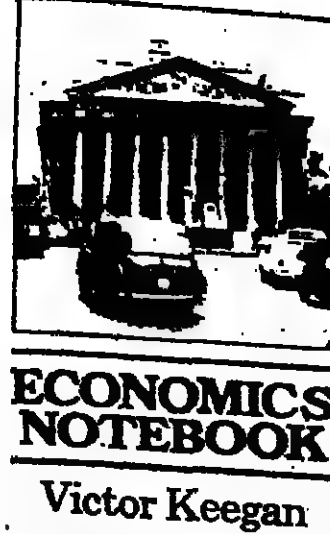
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# The miners' strike has failed to save jobs—and so will Nigel Lawson's next Budget



**ECONOMICS NOTEBOOK**  
**Victor Keegan**

**THE MINERS' strike is over and has failed in its primary object of protecting tomorrow's employment. The £10 million dragged out of the National Coal Board in mid-**

strike to encourage new enterprises (a contemptuous 0.03 per cent of the cost of the dispute) will quickly be offset by the jobs lost as a direct consequence of the strike. Will Mr. Lawson's "Budget for Jobs" do any better?

The Government has encouraged speculation that there will be hardly any tax cuts on March 18. Don't believe a word of it. Mrs. Thatcher's Government is not so easily moved by the contortions of the foreign exchange markets.

It is not going to be swayed from what it regards as a long-term programme of radical reform by a short-term currency crisis. Such perverse logic would scupper almost any serious attempt to change anything. This is why, rightly or wrongly, believe that tax cuts will generate enterprise and encourage people to take jobs they are currently shirking. (Don't all run at once. There are around four mil-

lion unemployed chasing an estimated 550,000 vacancies.) It is because the government believes in the long-term therapeutic value of lower taxes that we will get them in the Budget. It is tax cuts now — generating jobs in two or three years' time (so it is argued) — that will win the election, not cuts cynically delayed until the campaign is high.

All that is different as a result of the plunging pound and soaring public spending is a change in the way the tax cuts are paid for.

The tax cuts (in the form of a reduction in the threshold at which people start to pay tax) will be largely financed by rises in indirect taxation and more fiscal cuts. The Government is playing two games: one of building society taxes, a mild raid on private sector pensions and the equivalent of the trick played two years running as a result of which the Treasury reduced its contribution to the National Insurance fund by £1 billion.

Hardly anyone noticed this because it happened at a time when, thanks to lower than expected inflation, the National Insurance fund (like its private sector counterparts) was actually flush with cash. But what it does mean, nevertheless, is that we are all paying £1 billion more than we otherwise would have done.

But is not all this, you might ask, merely robbing us with one hand and giving it back with the other? It is indeed. The Budget judgment — how much the Chancellor can afford to "give away" — is supposed to be judged by the fiscal stance or balance between income, spending and borrowing. Since a combination of sterling crisis and expanding over-run has reduced the scope for unfunded tax cuts, the only alternative is to reduce direct visible taxes (income tax) by raising "invisible" direct taxes (like the National Insurance reductions we might otherwise have had) and indirect taxes.

The fiscal stance is becoming an increasingly meaningless concept anyway — in the way it is traditionally presented — as the Chancellor resorts to more and more dubious means to make ends meet. (If you are wondering what all this has got to do with the pit strike, hang on.)

What has been happening is this: In theory the Chancellor is operating a tight fiscal policy in which government borrowing (the public sector borrowing requirement) comes down each year as a proportion of the whole economy (gross domestic product). This has become the centre of gravity of economic policy as evangelists of monetarism failed to meet its own targets.

But the target of progressively reducing borrowing has been achieved only because Mr. Lawson has been selling off public enterprises and council houses. By the absurdity of Treasury accounting such asset sales count as negative spending.

Without this and other fudges — as the all-party Commons Treasury committee reminded us last week — spending would be rising at 3 per cent annually in real terms.

Does this mean that Mr. Lawson, for all his talk, is actually operating a lax or wet fiscal policy? Well, yes and no. Yes, because it is looser than it looks. No, because this accounting malpractice on the spending side is offset by other malpractices on the revenue side. He is now indulging in surrogate or backdoor taxation on a vast scale.

Nationalised industry prices like gas, electricity and water are being forced up by more than the industries want in order to provide income for the Treasury. National insurance contributions are £1 billion higher than they would otherwise have been. The collection of other taxes is being accelerated to achieve

a one-off boost to the borrowing requirement.

So what has all this got to do with creating employment in pit villages? The answer is not a lot. Reducing government borrowing — to the extent that it comes partly from savings from pit closures — will worsen affected areas. Raising the threshold at which people pay tax will do nothing for the unemployed in mining areas (since they pay hardly any tax) and will give those in employment more money to be spent largely on goods produced outside the local (one-product) economy. Nor can many be expected to sell their houses and move to other areas because there isn't exactly a long queue of people waiting to go into mining communities; and the jobs outside are, to say the least, limited.

The real tragedy of the strike is that this Government has also allowed the price of coal to rise to an unacceptably high price (£3 billion) to accelerate the coal industry's natural rate of

decline while doing nothing to accelerate job prospects in the areas affected. Indeed, by a strict application of the Government's myopic approval, the money borrowed to defeat the miners must be at the expense of something else so that borrowing targets are unaffected.

It joins the money spent on unemployment pay and social security (which alone accounts for 11 of the excess public spending since 1979) to illustrate this cruel truth. That to the extent that the Government is operating a "tax" fiscal policy, the industry is more than accounted for by money spent on financing the consequences of its inability to cure unemployment. What we need, and what we assuredly will not get on March 18, is a higher Budget deficit caused by increased outlays on wealth creation—from infrastructure spending to local enterprise boards (particularly in isolated mining communities). A Budget for Jobs? Forget it.

## Britain wins foothold in \$500 million telecommunications project

# Cable stake in Chinese bonanza

From John Hooper in Peking

Cable and Wireless will today sign an agreement that offers the company a unique chance to become the leading player in China's rapidly expanding telecommunications business.

It is expected that the Chinese will spend around \$500 million on telecommunications in the Yangtze Delta area over the next five years.

Under the terms of a joint memorandum to be signed by Sir Eric Sharp, Cable and Wireless's chairman, and a representative of the Chinese Government, feasibility studies will be set up with the intention of establishing two joint ventures between the company and the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

One is for the modernisation of telecommunications in China's industrial and commercial

heartland, the Yangtze Delta. Telecommunications there is increasing at the rate of 25 per cent a year, putting an intolerable strain on the existing antiquated equipment. It is estimated that the capital investment required to convert the area from mechanical to digital technology and introduce such refinements as optical fibre cables will be of the order of \$100 million a year.

Cable and Wireless, in partnership with the ministry, would install a new network which would then be put at the disposal of the four local authorities concerned: of Jiangsu, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces and the municipal government of Shanghai. How much profit the two partners will draw out of the scheme has yet to be settled.

The other joint venture which will now be examined is

for the setting up of a Telecommunications Technology Development Centre in Peking. The idea is to create an organisation that can provide consulting services to the provincial and municipal authorities in the regions which now enjoy far greater decision-making power and facilitate the import of advanced foreign technology.

The centre, which would include conference, office and hotel facilities, is expected to cost \$20 million.

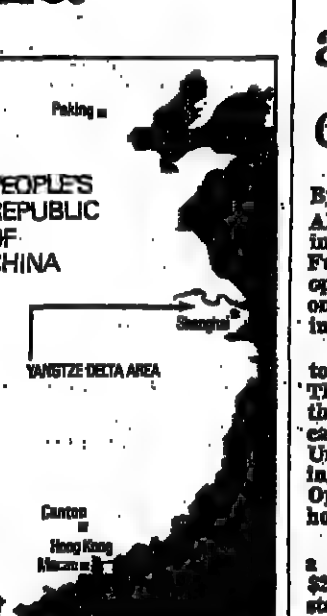
Cable and Wireless executives believe that although the deal initially involves only feasibility studies, binding agreement is now within sight.

The joint memorandum is further evidence of the good relations between China and the UK. It is a sign that although Britain has improved her status in Chinese eyes, she has still to reach the status acquired by China's

readily accompanying Lord Young, the Minister without Portfolio and personal adviser to Mrs. Thatcher, on a mission to China.

But just how far that goodwill extends will be seen today. The head of a much bigger but less distinguished delegation of Japanese businessmen is scheduled to be received by China's strongman, the chairman of the Communist Party's advisory committee, Mr. Deng Xiaoping.

Lord Young, on the other hand, due to see the Premier, Mr. Zhao Ziyang, who, although he has a more exalted title, exercises less clout. If Mr. Deng does see the Japanese but not the British, it will be a sign that although Britain has improved her status in Chinese eyes, she has still to reach the status acquired by China's



## Defence brokers join the boffins

By Maggie Brown

The first fruits of the Government's plan to open up Britain's £2 billion annual military research programme to industry have emerged with the creation of a new technology brokering firm to exploit products developed by four leading research establishments.

Defence Technology Enterprise, a new company without public backing from eight City institutions. The partners include Barclays, Merchant, Banks, Lazard, and Robert Fleming, the British Technology Group, and Prunice — part of the Prunice.

DTE has reached agreement with the MOD giving it access to the work at Royal Signals and Radar Establishment at Malvern, Britain's prestigious electronics and communications

centre the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough, which has important work in progress on new materials, and the Admiralty's Portsmouth and Portsmouth research stations. DTE is a direct response to the Government's policy of opening up military research to industry. It is a new company, not a joint venture, and its capital is raised by the partners. It will be a direct response to the Government's policy of opening up military research to industry. It is a new company, not a joint venture, and its capital is raised by the partners.

month working group, of which this is the fruit.

The novel agreement allows DTE experts — now being recruited to enter the research, design, test and production projects not already specifically linked to major contractors, and meet with the scientists and researchers. This select band of brokers will obviously need in-depth security clearance.

DTE will attempt to spot money-making projects and products which could be licensed to other companies, and will look for "hot" firms prepared to work up promising ideas further.

It is possible that DTE will also operate a form of regular briefing circular, listing promising projects underway, which would be sold to an associate club of company sub-

scribers. This, however, could raise controversy. For example, should foreign companies be allowed first bite at UK defence-technology? Mr. Michael Burrell, a management consultant and former defence director, says the deal doesn't give us exclusive rights, but it does give us a right to know what is going on. DTE will be there specifically to look for "civil spin-off".

The MOD's research establishments have many achievements to their credit. Malvern originated the concept of integrated circuits on silicon chips, and liquid display crystals, in conjunction with Hull University, while RAE pioneered carbon-fibre products. As Mr. Burrell has pointed out, these defence spin-offs have largely benefited foreign companies.

## Fierce tax squeeze on poor

By our Financial Staff

Britain's poor are more heavily taxed than in any other country, according to a report today from the Low Pay Unit.

The unit says that the burden of taxation on the low paid has increased sharply since 1978-79, even though the majority of people are already taxed too heavily.

The Low Pay Unit says that one in five taxpayers is in the low pay bracket and that since 1978-79, a family of four on two-thirds average earnings has seen the direct tax burden rise by over 9 per cent.

By comparison, a similar family earning ten times the average wage now pays 23 per cent less tax.

According to the report, Tackling Inequalities, only those with incomes exceeding £19,000—little more than 1 per cent of taxpayers—now pay less direct tax than in 1978-79.

The report points out that some 44 per cent of the £4.5 billion of tax cuts handed out since 1978-79 have been enjoyed by the richest 5 per cent of taxpayers. Almost a third went to the richest 1.3 per cent of taxpayers, while those earning over £50,000 a year—0.3 per cent of taxpayers—enjoyed almost one-third of the cuts.

The poorest fifth of taxpayers have received between them only 3 per cent of the cumulative tax cuts, with their tax cut averaging just 0.7 per cent, compared with £225 per week in cuts for the richest taxpayer.

## Chemicals defended

The continued use of agrochemicals around the world is "absolutely vital" if the increasing problems of hunger and starvation are to be beaten, it was claimed yesterday.

The British Agrochemicals Association, which represents 90 per cent of the industry, is concerned that "the overwhelming advantages" of using chemicals to boost production and kill pests and diseases are being overshadowed because of criticisms from environmental pressure groups.

Director Mr. Terence MacLean said, "Activist groups do have a role to play, but a small vociferous minority seems intent on heightening anxiety without offering any solutions."

## 10 pc interest rate predicted for UK by end of the year

By our Financial Staff

A drop in banking interest rates of between 1 and 1 per cent next budget day is being predicted by a leading economist.

Mr. David Kern, chief economist at National Westminster Bank, believes the budget-linked fall in base rates will be followed by a further 4 per cent reduction, taking them down to 10 per cent by the year end.

In a report today Mr. Kern says that immediate prospects for interest rates are uncertain, but predicts the Government remains committed to the basic principles of its monetary financial strategy, a gradual downward trend should emerge during the year.

"A small fall in base rates of some 1 per cent to 1 per cent could occur around the time of the budget, followed by a further gradual reduction to some 12 per cent by the middle of the year and around 10 per cent in the final months of 1985," he says.

Mr. Kern also believes that if financial confidence is sustained, the gradual downward trend in UK interest rates will continue in 1986.

Economists at stockbrokers Laing & Cuthbert expect the Chancellor to scale down tax cuts to £1 billion in the budget.

Rival brokers Simon & Coates believe that the money available for tax cuts will be used instead to reduce Government borrowing.

Simon & Coates say that a sum of £1.8 billion may be theoretically possible if the Chancellor produces a public sector borrowing requirement of only £2.7 billion for next year. But both firms of brokers feel that the PSBR target for next year will be set at £5.5 billion.

Lloyds Bank disagrees, claiming that the Chancellor will aim for a £7 billion PSBR in 1985, providing the Government with the scope to cut taxes by £1.5 billion.

Life-of-contract highs.

Zinc, a tonne a peak of \$823, reached for standard metal for forward delivery last week, but fell to \$780, the all-time high recorded in 1973, when the market was in the grips of a serious squeeze.

There is also the fear of a squeeze developing this time round, but few signs of panic and little reason so far, according to traders, for the authorities to intervene. The tightness of supplies of deliverable material to meet maturing contracts (which along with the pound's decline has been the main reason why the price in London has been doing exceptionally well) is to some extent a technical phenomenon linked to the phasing-out of the London Metal Exchange (LME) standard grade contract. From November, only high grade material will be deliverable.

Stocks of zinc in LME warehouses are low. Although the total has recently begun rising from the nine-and-a-half year low of under 30,000 tonnes touched a couple of months ago, the volume of standard grade metal held has been falling weekly.

The market's strength, however, is not just based on local

**COURTNEY, POPE (HOLDINGS) PLC**

**COURTNEY, POPE (HOLDINGS) PLC AND SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES**

Specialist Contracting, Shipping, Engineering, Mechanical

Unaudited Consolidated Results for the Year ended 31 December 1984

	Half Year ended 30.11.84	Half Year ended 30.11.83	Year ended 31.12.84
Turnover	£22,040	£17,850	£34,420
Profit before taxation	130	800	1,642
Less: Corporation Tax	130	800	1,642
Profit after taxation	0	0	0
Earnings per Share	13.10p	11.50p	30.40p
Dividends	2.50p	2.50p	4.50p
Interest	132	108	330
Total for year	132	108	330
Cost	88	84	194
Net profit credit	44	24	136

**STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN**

The Directors of the Company are pleased to announce that the Company has achieved a record year in 1984, with turnover increasing by 23 per cent and profit by 100 per cent on the previous year. The Company's performance is a result of the excellent work of its staff and the support of its customers. The Directors are confident that the Company's strong financial position will enable it to continue to grow and to provide a high level of service to its customers in the future.

## Zinc still has a long way to go

**COMMODITIES**  
**Robin Stainer**

London zinc prices, after reaching their highest level for 11 years early last week, fell back sharply — as did all sterling-denominated commodity markets when the pound picked up sharply against the dollar.

The factors other than currency developments that have contributed to zinc's strength so far this year remain largely intact, however.

There are, traders say, still fundamental and technical reasons for remaining bullish about the metal at least in the short term. But sterling's performance will remain critically important for the London market. Its decline this year has been one of the major influences on all London markets — not just zinc.

Opposite zinc's price has been boosted to a five-year high, while early last week tin and nickel traded at their highest levels ever — \$10,295 and \$4,940 a tonne respectively — and coffee moved up to

technical and currency factors — the rise in the dollar price of the metal shows that. None the less, the fact that despite recent increases, US prices are well below their previous peak highlights how influential sterling's poor performance has been in boosting London prices.

The list prices of most US producers, at 85 cents a pound, are 10 cents below the high for 1984. European producers, meanwhile, are currently quoting \$940 a tonne — \$150 below last year's best level.

The latest rise in list prices has certainly helped to push up the LME, of free market price. The general improvement in the market, however, is the result of a series of developments over the past few months — not least the decision of European producers to cut back output sharply when prices began to falter after their sharp increase during the first half of last year.

At the same time, strikes have also created worries about supplies, with Peru's biggest refinery, at Cajamarquilla, hit in January; more recently, production has had to be suspended at Australia's Mount Isa mine. The market has also

been supported this year by the news that Asarco plans to close its Corpus Christi zinc plant in Texas from the beginning of April.

Supply restraint through stock-building and output cuts by producers, is likely to keep the zinc market "broadly in balance" this year, according to a recent Rudolf Wölfl report. Other analysts — including Shearson Lehman/American Express — foresee a deficit for the second year running, although neither production nor consumption is expected to grow quite as strongly as in 1984.

The latest figures from the London-based International Lead and Zinc Study Group show that, thanks to a big increase by Canada, the Western world mined a record 4.98 million tonnes last year. Refined metal production rose by 3.8 per cent to 4.82 million tonnes, while consumption up 2.1 per cent at 4.71 million, with the improvement in the US much more marked than elsewhere.

After taking into account net exports to socialist countries (principally China) of 185,000 tonnes, the market was in deficit and stocks were drawn down.

## Soft loan fund avoids collapse

By John Madeley

AID donor countries are saving the UN's International Fund for Agricultural Development from collapse, but only by substantially reducing its size.

The fund makes soft loans to low income farmers in the Third World and had been threatened with closure because its chief donors, the United States and oil exporting countries belonging to Opec, were in dispute over how it should be financed.

After lending \$300 million a year, and a total of over \$2,000 million since it started in 1977, the fund has almost run out of money.

Oil-exporting countries wanted to donate less than the 48 per cent of IFAD's total funds they previously paid and argued without success that the US, with a new stronger economy, should pay more to a replenishment of around \$1,000 million for the next three years.

At a meeting in Rome last week to try to break the deadlock, donors came to a tacit understanding that for every two dollars given by the Opec group, the West would give three dollars.

But they decided that the fund should only be replenished at between \$500 million and \$650 million, little over half the level that had been sought. The final figure will be decided at a further meeting in early April.

The fund's president, Mr. Jeddah of Algeria, admitted that the planned levels "do not meet our expectations" but was optimistic that donors would make additional voluntary contributions that would enable IFAD to continue lending around \$250 million a year.

Some \$60 projects, worth nearly \$1,000 million, are said by IFAD to be stuck in the pipeline, mostly because of lack of funds.

While France and the Scandinavian countries are expected to contribute extra amounts, a British government official, Mr. Peter McLean, said there was little chance that Britain would do so. Britain, he said, was already giving a high proportion of its total aid to multilateral aid organisations such as the World Bank.

Handshaken, after his losses in currency and gold, a Swiss bank official said yesterday. Wöhlhoff was replaced in Zurich by a branch of the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank giving Moscow more central and greater responsibility for its activities.

## Now Edwardes accuses BTR of intimidation

By Andrew Cornelius

BTR was yesterday accused of using "heavy handed tactics" in pursuing its £25 million takeover bid for Dunlop Holdings, the troubled tyre and consumer products group chaired by Sir Michael Edwardes.

The latest attack by Dunlop came in a letter sent to its shareholders during the week-end. BTR had previously accused Dunlop of dragging its heels in producing detailed financial information for shareholders and also alleged that Dunlop's financial reconstruction document was illegal.

Sir Michael said in the letter, "It appears that BTR's utter failure to achieve acceptance of its offer through persuasion has led it to step up its campaign which seems designed to intimidate Dunlop's board and its shareholders."

He told shareholders that the company was pleased that the Takeover Panel had thrown out BTR's complaint against Dunlop and its financial information. Dunlop promised to send shareholders

details of its latest reconstruction proposals for the group and an update to date financial picture of the group as quickly as possible. This information is now expected to reach shareholders later this week.

Shareholders were also informed that Dunlop's lawyers regard BTR's statement about the original reconstruction document as "defamatory."

Sir Michael said that BTR will need to increase its offer "massively" if it is to have any chance of acquiring Dunlop. The current market price of Dunlop shares stands at more than twice BTR's 80p cash offer price, Sir Michael said.

BTR has to decide whether to renew its existing takeover bid, or increase its offer terms, by Thursday of this week, which is the second closing date of its offer.

Dunlop maintains that BTR's offer was badly timed and pitched far too low. "The thoroughness of BTR's complaint right time to have approached about the deal, and the financial information, Dunlop before the rescue operation got underway," Sir Michael said.

## Cut-price stamps

THE POST Office is launching a new cut-price book of first-class stamps. The new book, available from tomorrow, contains 10 first-class stamps at a price of 15p, some 15p less than the 17p face of 10 first-class stamps.

It is the first time that a special discount book of first-class stamps has been issued at this time of the year and demand is expected to be high following the earlier sell-outs of previous years. As a result, the Post Office is limiting sales to a maximum of two books to each customer.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

of a new submarine sonar system.

Playsey is expected to announce the contract later this week, with GEC and Ferranti among the sub-contractors. The sonar is a new generation integrated system designed for the next generation of nuclear submarines with particular emphasis on improving the vessel's ability to remain undetected.

FLESSEY has won an important Ministry of Defence contract worth around £100 million for the design, development and production of a new submarine sonar system.

SHIPPING freight rates fell again in February, reflecting the continuing glut in world shipping markets, according to Eggar Forrester, the London shipbrokers.

THIS NOTICE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AN OFFER FOR SALE AND THE STOCKS LISTED BELOW ARE NOT AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE DIRECT FROM THE BANK OF ENGLAND. THE STOCKS ARE LISTED ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE AND ARE EXPECTED TO COMMENCE ON MONDAY, 4TH MARCH 1985.

## ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT STOCK

The Bank of England announces that Her Majesty's Treasury has created on 1st March 1985, and has issued to the Bank, an additional amount of £250 million of each of the Stocks listed below:

**2½ per cent INDEX-LINKED TREASURY STOCK, 2009**  
**2½ per cent INDEX-LINKED TREASURY STOCK, 2016**

The price paid by the Bank on issue was in each case the middle market closing price of the relevant Stock on 1st March 1985 as certified by the Government Stock Office. In each case, the amount issued on 1st March 1985 represents a further increase in the relevant Stock, raising in all respects par value with that Stock and subject to the terms and conditions of the relevant Stock. The Bank of England is the issuer of the relevant Stock and the Bank of England is the issuer of the relevant Stock.

Applications have been made to the Council of the Stock Exchange for each further issue of stock to be admitted to the Official List of the Stock Exchange.

The Stocks are repayable, and interest is payable half-yearly, on the dates shown below (provision is made in the prospectuses for stockholders to be offered the right of early redemption under certain circumstances):

Stock	Redemption date	Interest payment dates
2½ per cent Index-Linked Treasury Stock, 2009	20th May 2009	20th May
2½ per cent Index-Linked Treasury Stock, 2016	26th July 2016	26th July

Both the principal of and the interest on the Stocks are indexed to the General Index of Retail Prices. The index figure relevant to any month is that published seven months previously and relating to the month before the month of publication. The index figure relevant to the month of issue of 2½ per cent Index-Linked Treasury Stock, 2009 is that relating to February 1982 (1982 = 100). The index figure relevant to the month of issue of 2½ per cent Index-Linked Treasury Stock, 2016 is that relating to May 1982 (1982 = 100). These index figures will be used for the purposes of calculating payments of principal and interest in respect of the relevant further tranches of stock.

Interest payable	Published in	Relating to
May	October of the previous year	September
November	April of the same year	March
January	June of the previous year	May
July	December of the previous year	November

Each further tranche of stock issued on 1st March 1985 will rank for a full six months' interest on the next interest payment date applicable to the relevant Stock.

**BANK OF ENGLAND**  
**LONDON**  
21st March 1985



Nothing is sacrosanct at the newly merged P & O. Andrew Cornelius reports

## Making it up there with the big names

### BUSINESS PEOPLE

SIR JEFFREY Sterling draws up a chair in his office at the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company in London's Pall Mall. He is immaculately dressed and is a fit-looking 50-year-old. The P&O flag flies proudly outside the building while inside the walls groan with the weight of original oil paintings of P&O's most famous ships.

Sir Jeffrey has made it. The £1 billion merger between the mighty P&O shipping and Bovis construction group, and Sir Jeffrey's tenure as chairman of the P&O Group, has made him one of the most powerful men in the UK. Yet he claims that it has been a "bitter sweet" week.

While friends (who include some of the most influential names in Whitehall and the City) toast his success, Sir Jeffrey regards the completion of the merger as the end of an era.

Cynics might say that he is merely up because the Sterling family name will be lost when the merger goes through. Others might point to the £1 billion merger, a £25 million paper fortune, and ask: "Who's complaining?"

Sir Jeffrey says: "It is more than an ego thing."

He still cannot get over the fact that not a single question had been asked at the extraordinary meeting of P&O shareholders last week to approve the merger. "There were at the most important meeting in the company's history and it was all over in two minutes," he said.

Now Sir Jeffrey has to apply to P&O the management which successfully turned round the troubled Town and City Properties Group when it was merged with P&O, the services company which he built up.

Phase One is complete. Sir Jeffrey was brought in first as deputy chairman, and then chairman of P&O in 1983 to fight off the £200 million takeover bid mounted by Sir Nigel Brookes, chairman of Trafalgar House.

A flurry of asset sales, including P&O's tinted glass headquarters building in the City, helped strengthen the balance sheet, and did the trick. Sir Jeffrey admits that he had merely achieved many of the things that Trafalgar planned if it had won control of P&O.

But it is the next step that will test his business skills to the limit. The new-style P&O group bears no comparison to the group he inherited when he took over the P&O Group in 1983. Then, he and Bruce MacPhail, his longstanding business partner and friend, faced a long uphill struggle to keep the Town and City group intact. The group was added with huge interest payments on its debts and was at the point of no return on £200 millions of property developments which had to be sold if the group was to survive.

"It was largely a question of time," Sir Jeffrey recalls. In all, it took about eight years to complete the transformation which made the merger with Bovis possible.

During this period Sir Jeffrey won several powerful friends in the City and also in Whitehall where he impressed officials and Ministers after being appointed as an adviser to Cecil Parkinson, and then Norman Tebbit at the Department of Trade and Industry.

He also met shipping veteran Andrew Crichton while negotiating a deal on SGT's behalf. Later, Crichton, a colleague of Lord Incheape, P&O's ageing chairman, was largely responsible for pushing Sir Jeffrey forward to the P&O board, which he joined as a non-executive director in 1980.

Sir Jeffrey puts this down to being one of those quirks of fate that change people's lives. He said that he had never set out to become head of a huge group, let alone P&O. But he does admit to being ambitious: "I think you know early on whether you are ambitious or whether you want someone else to take the lead," he says.

He claims that he is not entirely motivated by money, merely wanting enough to be master of his own destiny. But behind this rather modest facade, Sir Jeffrey is determined to succeed. He is mildly irritated by suggestions from analysts that he and the SGT management team do not have great experience in making takeovers. "Bruce and the others have more experience of these things than most merchant bankers," he insists.

He is not setting out to create another Hanson Trust, BTR, or Trafalgar: the groups with which P&O is now compared. "We are a P&O," he says.

What is a P&O? Sir Jeffrey says that it is essentially a services company with priceless brand names led by the P&O name itself and including Bovis, Earls Court, Olympia and even Buck and Hickman, which has a long established reputation in the international tool trade.

Far from being overawed by the traditions of the P&O group, Sir Jeffrey is hoping to make better use of its overseas connections. Although he confesses that he has no passion for ship's engine rooms he has been impressed by the loyalty of the staff. In particular he was touched by a telegram sent on the day he was appointed chairman by the crew of one of P&O's ships in distant seas wishing him "warm seas".

He intends to capitalise on the strong loyalty which the P&O name breeds, by leading from the front. He told a meeting of the group's senior managers shortly after taking over that he expected them to do the same in their own businesses.

He demands total loyalty from his staff and seems to get it. Bruce MacPhail and Oliver Marriott stayed with him through thick and thin at SGT, and have moved with him to P&O. In return Sir Jeffrey offers his managers total support and minimum interference from the small 26-strong head office team. Key personnel have been offered attractive share options as a further incentive, reflecting his view that "nobility works for love alone".

Young managers — some in their early thirties — are also being appointed in key positions.

Sir Jeffrey accepts that in nine, or even ten cases out of ten, it is the management's fault if things go wrong. "People here seem to respond to being given a sense of ownership," he says, making a sideways swipe at the previous management at P&O.

"My job is to create the atmosphere and the set of parameters which allow our operational managers to get on with the job and to take the decisions away from them if they fail to succeed."

A tough review of P&O's trading activities has already earmarked the group's cruise and container shipping businesses, including the 48 per cent stake in OCL, as possible targets for rationalisation. Talks with Trafalgar House could result in savings in both group's shipping operations, but Sir Jeffrey says that it may take some time before these proposals are put into effect.

Inevitably there will be further rationalisation and appointments across the entire group, including board level. Within the next few months, in part this reflects Sir Jeffrey's view that there is more to be squeezed from the group to improve its return on capital employed.

And nothing is sacrosanct. Sir Jeffrey stands to one side and looks at his businesses coldly. P&O is not in shipping it is in transport, he says. Neither is there any connection between P&O's bulk carrier and cruise businesses. Instead of bemoaning the continuing decline of P&O's fleet — an obsession of the previous management — the measure should be taken to shift the focus of the group. "If one ship can do the job previously done by four other ships then that is fine," he says.

He promises that P&O will only take on board businesses which it can manage itself. "We like to feel that we can get down to our shirt sleeves and manage any of the businesses ourselves," Sir Jeffrey says as he rushes off to his next meeting and the possibility of striking another deal.

for his replacement, Lonach, ran away with the race finishing 12 lengths in front of Ulan Bator, with Meister 20 lengths back, third of eight. He made most of the running and as soon as the others tried to join him he came right away again. A high class performance over three miles.

Floyd's comfortable victory, his second in two outings this season, puts him in line for Saturday's William Hill Imperial Cup but Berlin could be favourite when the sponsors open up their book on Tuesday.

Hills have Greenpeace at 9-1 for the Grand National and Ladbrokes as low as 8-1. This gelding has finished second in the last two Nationals and was beaten two lengths by the 4-6 favourite Killaloe at the 4-6 on Saturday.

West Tip, ridden by his National rider, Richard Dunwoody, was most impressive after winning Newent Chase at Hereford by three lengths from Run And Skip, unbeaten in his four races this season. West Tip is now 14-1 for the National, while early birds had 8-1.

Ararun, winner of six races in succession in Ireland and hopefully a replacement for last year's champion runner, Dewhurst, is injured and will miss Cheltenham.

Forgive me Forget repeated last year's success in the Telford Chase when beating By The Way one and half lengths. If the sportsman really intend that the same horse should win this race two years running, for it is basically a race for novice chasers. At present, provided the horse has not won over fences at the start of the two previous seasons, he is eligible to compete.

Richard Baerlein's SELECTIONS: Map: LOCHBOISDALE (3.30 Windsor) Next best CORN STREET (4.30 Windsor).

Before First Bout even ran, Hills laid him to lose over a £100,000 in the triumph from 33-1 odds. Some even suggested that he may start favourite after such a spread of performance. For the second, Taming, had won his previous race easily.

Toby Belding knew what he was doing when withdrawing Sheer Gold from the Philip Cornes Saddle of Gold Final.

145 Romulex 3 15 The Somer 3 45 Chesko Ora 4 15 Sidbury Hill

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SPORT  
IN BRIEFFrancisco  
breaks in

**VOOKER:** Silvio Francisco came the third player this season to win his first major prize in the £50,000 prize in the Dux British Open at Derby yesterday. He plans to spend most of the money on building a snooker room at his permanent home in Chesterfield, writes Clive Everton.

In emulating Dennis Taylor, winner of the Rothmans GP in October, and Willie Thorne, who captured the Mercantile Credit Classic in January, the 38-year-old South African confirmed his status as the circuit's most improved player.

Even before his Dux wins over Jimmy White, Tony Meo and Alex Higgins, he had done enough to belie his 17th place in the world ranking and his self-belief held firm yesterday when Stevens put him under pressure by winning the 5-0 overnight deficit 8-9.

However, Francisco reopened the two frame gap at 10-8 and went three up with four to play, with the aid of two flukes, one of them on the last red, the other the frame-ball green.

**SKING:** Steven Lee of Australia and Daniel Mahler of Switzerland, two reputed downhill specialists, celebrated an unexpected joint victory in a men's super giant slalom race in Japan yesterday. It was their first World Cup win. The two skiers who finished sixth and seventh respectively in the downhill, beat young Brian Stannish of Canada by 0.23 seconds in a race again hampered by bad weather.

Todd Brooker of Canada, one of the most aggressive skiers on the circuit, hurtled to his first World Cup downhill victory since 1983. Brooker, aged 25, from Paris, Ontario, won by 0.56 seconds over Sepp Wildgruber of West Germany, with Bruno Kernen of Switzerland third.

Austria's Katrin Guttensohn, silver medal winner in the downhill at the recent world Championships, captured her first World Cup victory on Saturday in a downhill on Vall mountain, Colorado.

**BASKETBALL:** Like their football team, Manchester United's basketball players are developing the worrying habit of coming second. Last night they lost 78-73 to Middlesbrough in the final of the Swindon-Motors Anglo-Scottish Cup at Leicester, writes Peter Ball. United fell apart in the second half after leading 45-38 at half-time. Edinburgh recovery helped Middlesbrough, inevitably, by Alton Bryd. The most important battle inside, however, was won by Foggin, the top scorer with 26 points, and Way.



**SOCCER:** Trevor Francis, the England international, was carried off on a stretcher after a clash of heads in Sampdoria's 1-0 defeat of Udinese yesterday. Above, Francis is pictured on his way to hospital in Genoa.

In Milan, Ray Wilkins detected a Diego Maradona shot into his own net, but his side recovered to beat Napoli 2-1. Verona stretched their lead at the top of the Italian League by beating Fiorentina 2-0. Roma, who later had Bruno Conti sent off.

In Spain, Steve Archibald scored his 15th of the season as champions-elect Barcelona won 5-2 at Valencia.

**RUGBY UNION:** The RFU faces the task of quick rule-making after an injury forced to the referee, Paul Russell, to leave the field early in yesterday's London Merit Table clash.

The match continued under a Rosslyn Park referee. Colin Horgan, a junior referee, called the game. There is no rule to cover such a happening so that neither club knows whether Park's 12-6 win stands as a Merit Table result. Both would prefer to replay the match, which decides whether Irish qualify for next year's John Player Cup, but the final decision rests with the RFU.

**EQUESTRIANISM:** Nick Skelton and Everest St James, top money-winners in 1984, opened their new season with a victory in the Antwerp GP, returning the fastest of four prizes for next year's John Player Cup, but the final decision rests with the RFU.

This was Skelton's second and Britain's fifth win in the seven-European qualifiers for the Volvo World Cup to date.

John Rodda reports from Athens

Bennett highlight of  
GB's gold standard

## ATHLETICS

BRITAIN presented her new riches to the athletic world at the European Indoor Championships this weekend with a world-best performance in the 400 metres from Todd Bennett, two further gold medals for Mike McFarlane in the 60 metres and Rob Harrison at 800 metres, and bronze prizes for Heather Oakes in the short sprint and Yvonne Murray at 3,000 metres.

Kirsty McDermott would almost certainly have joined the medal roster had she not tumbled in the final lap of the 800 metres, and Jonathan Ridgeon will do so in the hurdles once his technique improves the painful error of clipping most obstacles with his knee.

Altogether there was the comfortable feeling that, whether or not Coe and Ovett are getting a bit old in the youth Britain has others to take their place on the world athletics stage.

Certainly, Bennett is the No. 1 hero of the gathering, bringing 11,000 Athenians to their feet as he sped through two laps of the track in a time of 45.56 secs, four-hundredths of a second faster than the man who beat him in the world indoor games earlier this year, Thomas Schoenle in East Germany. There had been the tantalising hint that Bennett could become Britain's second athlete to achieve a world indoor-best mark—Seb Coe with a mile 44.91secs for 800 metres is the other—by the way he turned off, and then

## Greek drugs row

Greece is suffering humiliation and the prospect of a deepening political row after the European Indoor Championships were withdrawn from the European Indoor Championships because they provided positive samples in a dope test, writes John Rodda from Athens.

The tests were made several days before the championships and the results, announced on the night before the event began, stunned the organisation of the championships and the government, who were behind the operation to fund the event, as well as having cost £44 million for the new indoor stadium.

The six athletes involved

have all professed their innocence and a determination to take out an injunction to take them out of the country. Yesterday there was an attempt to ease the seriousness of the situation with an announcement that there was only a suspicion that the athletes had taken some banned substance. The samples will be tested again in Rome.

Sir Arthur Gold, the British president of the European Athletic Association, has heaped praise on the Greek Athletic Federation for their action.

"I applaud their vigour and courage and I welcome these countries who will stand up and fight this abuse of our sport," he told me.

The sponsors borrowed a Hollywood technique and billed Miss Budd with the title. The promotion material invited the public to participate — and 4,000 did — in brochures urging them to

"This is not really true. The 29 'elite' women competing with Miss Budd were not only separated from the public, but also from the 54 male stars whose race was won by Ireland's John Treacy in 27.7s. This was the first time in the event that men and women had been split and both Sly and Welch regretted it. The event was separated for two reasons.

One was the security, which the police had decided would be simpler with a divided field.

The other reason was the US TV network which bought the film rights

to the event.

There is no rule to cover such a happening so that neither club knows whether Park's 12-6 win stands as a Merit Table result. Both would prefer to replay the match, which decides whether Irish qualify for next year's John Player Cup, but the final decision rests with the RFU.

**EUROPEAN INDOOR CHAMPIONSHIPS** (Athens) — 400m: Todd Bennett (GB) 45.56; 60m: Mike McFarlane (GB) 7.60; 800m: Rob Harrison (GB) 1:59.89; 1,500m: Steve Rowley (GB) 4:02.54; 2,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 5:50.24; 3,000m: Yvonne Murray (GB) 9:25.22; 4,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 16:00.00; 5,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 17:00.00; 6,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 18:00.00; 7,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 19:00.00; 8,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 20:00.00; 9,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 21:00.00; 10,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 22:00.00; 11,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 23:00.00; 12,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 24:00.00; 13,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 25:00.00; 14,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 26:00.00; 15,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 27:00.00; 16,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 28:00.00; 17,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 29:00.00; 18,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 30:00.00; 19,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 31:00.00; 20,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 32:00.00; 21,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 33:00.00; 22,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 34:00.00; 23,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 35:00.00; 24,000m: Steve Rowley (GB) 36:00.00; 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35 The Week  
43 Ian Skidmore

wps: Start the Week with  
 Richard Baker.  
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 wps: Morning Story: Homesickness by  
 Billy Rosegood.  
 wps: Daily Service.  
 wps: Down Your Way from  
 Somerset.  
 wps: Poetry Please. Verse requests.  
 wps: You and Yours.  
 wps: Wordsmiths at Gorsemore.  
 wps: Soap opera of life with the  
 Mantic Poets (2).  
 wps: A World At One: News.  
 wps: The Anchor.  
 wps: Woman's Hour.  
 wps: Afternoon Play: Story of a

aliphrenic. The Cross-  
animator. Legal drama by James  
ables. A prosecuting QC is  
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guilt—but dare he risk his career  
proving her innocence?  
ints of Deception. Travellers'  
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I. News Magazine.  
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Women. Aspects of being a.

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**Sale Video Radio Cymra.**  
6 As Radio 4 (VHF).

**3790(s):** 6 sss As Radio 4, 5, 20  
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**Report:** 3 s As Radio 4, 1 s  
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10 s The New Year Honours, 10  
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in Scotland, 8 2D  
Tom Ferra, 12 s Class, 4s

**World Service**

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10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60  
 News, 10 45 Reflections, 10 45  
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EEN AT THE ELECTRIC. 229 3694.  
urry Must End Thursday. John Hurt,  
School, 1900-1901, 1902-1903, 1904-1905, 1906-1907, 1908-1909, 1910-1911, 1912-1913, 1914-1915, 1916-1917, 1918-1919, 1920-1921, 1922-1923, 1924-1925, 1926-1927, 1928-1929, 1930-1931, 1932-1933, 1934-1935, 1936-1937, 1938-1939, 1940-1941, 1942-1943, 1944-1945, 1946-1947, 1948-1949, 1950-1951, 1952-1953, 1954-1955, 1956-1957, 1958-1959, 1960-1961, 1962-1963, 1964-1965, 1966-1967, 1968-1969, 1970-1971, 1972-1973, 1974-1975, 1976-1977, 1978-1979, 1980-1981, 1982-1983, 1984-1985, 1986-1987, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, 1992-1993, 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2002-2003, 2004-2005, 2006-2007, 2008-2009, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015, 2016-2017, 2018-2019, 2020-2021, 2022-2023, 2024-2025, 2026-2027, 2028-2029, 2030-2031, 2032-2033, 2034-2035, 2036-2037, 2038-2039, 2040-2041, 2042-2043, 2044-2045, 2046-2047, 2048-2049, 2050-2051, 2052-2053, 2054-2055, 2056-2057, 2058-2059, 2060-2061, 2062-2063, 2064-2065, 2066-2067, 2068-2069, 2070-2071, 2072-2073, 2074-2075, 2076-2077, 2078-2079, 2080-2081, 2082-2083, 2084-2085, 2086-2087, 2088-2089, 2090-2091, 2092-2093, 2094-2095, 2096-2097, 2098-2099, 2100-2101, 2102-2103, 2104-2105, 2106-2107, 2108-2109, 2110-2111, 2112-2113, 2114-2115, 2116-2117, 2118-2119, 2120-2121, 2122-2123, 2124-2125, 2126-2127, 2128-2129, 2130-2131, 2132-2133, 2134-2135, 2136-2137, 2138-2139, 2140-2141, 2142-2143, 2144-2145, 2146-2147, 2148-2149, 2150-2151, 2152-2153, 2154-2155, 2156-2157, 2158-2159, 2160-2161, 2162-2163, 2164-2165, 2166-2167, 2168-2169, 2170-2171, 2172-2173, 2174-2175, 2176-2177, 2178-2179, 2180-2181, 2182-2183, 2184-2185, 2186-2187, 2188-2189, 2190-2191, 2192-2193, 2194-2195, 2196-2197, 2198-2199, 2200-2201, 2202-2203, 2204-2205, 2206-2207, 2208-2209, 2210-2211, 2212-2213, 2214-2215, 2216-2217, 2218-2219, 2220-2221, 2222-2223, 2224-2225, 2226-2227, 2228-2229, 2230-2231, 2232-2233, 2234-2235, 2236-2237, 2238-2239, 2240-2241, 2242-2243, 2244-2245, 2246-2247, 2248-2249, 2250-2251, 2252-2253, 2254-2255, 2256-2257, 2258-2259, 2260-2261, 2262-2263, 2264-2265, 2266-2267, 2268-2269, 2270-2271, 2272-2273, 2274-2275, 2276-2277, 2278-2279, 2280-2281, 2282-2283, 2284-2285, 2286-2287, 2288-2289, 2290-2291, 2292-2293, 2294-2295, 2296-2297, 2298-2299, 2300-2301, 2302-2303, 2304-2305, 2306-2307, 2308-2309, 2310-2311, 2312-2313, 2314-2315, 2316-2317, 2318-2319, 2320-2321, 2322-2323, 2324-2325, 2326-2327, 2328-2329, 2330-2331, 2332-2333, 2334-2335, 2336-2337, 2338-2339, 2340-2341, 2342-2343, 2344-2345, 2346-2347, 2348-2349, 2350-2351, 2352-2353, 2354-2355, 2356-2357, 2358-2359, 2360-2361, 2362-2363, 2364-2365, 2366-2367, 2368-2369, 2370-2371, 2372-2373, 2374-2375, 2376-2377, 2378-2379, 2380-2381, 2382-2383, 2384-2385, 2386-2387, 2388-2389, 2390-2391, 2392-2393, 2394-2395, 2396-2397, 2398-2399, 2400-2401, 2402-2403, 2404-2405, 2406-2407, 2408-2409, 2410-2411, 2412-2413, 2414-2415, 2416-2417, 2418-2419, 2420-2421, 2422-2423, 2424-2425, 2426-2427, 2428-2429, 2430-2431, 2432-2433, 2434-2435, 2436-2437, 2438-2439, 2440-2441, 2442-2443, 2444-2445, 2446-2447, 2448-2449, 2450-2451, 2452-2453, 2454-2455, 2456-2457, 2458-2459, 2460-2461, 2462-2463, 2464-2465, 2466-2467, 2468-2469, 2470-2471, 2472-2473, 2474-2475, 2476-2477, 2478-2479, 2480-2481, 2482-2483, 2484-2485, 2486-2487, 2488-2489, 2490-2491, 2492-2493, 2494-2495, 2496-2497, 2498-2499, 2500-2501, 2502-2503, 2504-2505, 2506-2507, 2508-2509, 2510-2511, 2512-2513, 2514-2515, 2516-2517, 2518-2519, 2520-2521, 2522-2523, 2524-2525, 2526-2527, 2528-2529, 2530-2531, 2532-2533, 2534-2535, 2536-2537, 2538-2539, 2540-2541, 2542-2543, 2544-2545, 2546-2547, 2548-2549, 2550-2551, 2552-2553, 2554-2555, 2556-2557, 2558-2559, 2560-2561, 2562-2563, 2564-2565, 2566-2567, 2568-2569, 2570-2571, 2572-2573, 2574-2575, 2576-2577, 2578-2579, 2580-2581, 2582-2583, 2584-2585, 2586-2587, 2588-2589, 2590-2591, 2592-2593, 2594-2595, 2596-2597, 2598-2599, 2600-2601, 2602-2603, 2604-2605, 2606-2607, 2608-2609, 2610-2611, 2612-2613, 2614-2615, 2616-2617, 2618-2619, 2620-2621, 2622-2623, 2624-2625, 2626-2627, 2628-2629, 2630-2631, 2632-2633,

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